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ON THE APOCALYPTIC IN JUDAISM

By

JOSHUA BLOCH

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PREFACE

THE present century witnessed a rising interest in the study of early Jewish apocalyptic writings. To no small degree this was stimulated by the publication of such collections of apocrypha and pseudepigrapha as those of Kautzsch (in German), Charles (in English) and Kahana (in Hebrew) in which are incorporated extant examples of the classical apocalyptic works. The recently launched project of the Dropsie College edition of original texts of the Jewish Apocryphal Literature, accompanied by new translations, appropriate introductions and notes, critical and explanatory, has intensified this interest and opened up various questions which demand consideration. Important as the study of that literature is, more important is that which it involves. What position does it occupy in Jewish literature? What role did it play in the teachings of Judaism? What is the character of the books comprising that literature, especially those which are apocalyptic in character and why were they neglected by the Jews?

The aim of the present study is to deal with these and with other questions bearing on the interest and importance of a much neglected body of Jewish literature, the early apocalyptic writings and to show that some of their teachings have directly or indirectly but profoundly influenced religious beliefs and practices in Judaism.

My thanks are due to my co-workers Mr. Abraham Berger and Miss Dora Steinglass who helped me in various ways; they were always at my call during the progress of the work. I am especially indebted to my friends Professors Harry A. Wolfson of Harvard University and Solomon

Zeitlin of the Dropsie College for their painstaking reading of the manuscript and for stimulating and cogent criticism; their valuable hints and comments suggested the line along which the study proceeded. The study also profitted from several conversations with my friend and teacher Professor Louis Ginzberg, the nestor in all realms of Jewish learning. These gentlemen are in no way responsible for whatever shortcomings the study presents. The author alone assumes the blame for them. He has also drawn on the writings of scholars who have had occasion to deal with one aspect or another of this study. Whether in agreement or disagreement with views expressed by them due credit is indicated in the foot-notes by references to their writings.

Finally it is a pleasure to give expression of gratitude to my friend Harry Starr, President of the Littauer Foundation,— always concerned with the advancement of Jewish learning,— for having cooperated with the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning in making possible the publication of this study as the second of Jewish Quarterly Review Monographs; to another friend, Albert Mordell, for stylistic improvements and to Maurice Jacobs, Inc., for the splendid manner in which the work was seen through the press.

JOSHUA BLOCH

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ON THE APOCALYPTIC IN JUDAISM

Introduction

Any one wishing to understand the hopes and aspirations which stirred the hearts of Jews during the two centuries preceding and following the rise of Christianity cannot afford to neglect the Jewish apocalyptic writings of that day. They constitute an indispensable source of ideas which have influenced profoundly the development of Judaism. These writings also reveal the extent to which Christianity is essentially a product of Judaism. Moreover, they comprise a literature which had its flowering in the early stages of normative Judaism, many invaluable roots of which are to be found in the essential teachings of this very literature.

There has been a widespread tendency, especially among students of early Judaism, to depend almost entirely upon the rabbinical lore, largely reposing in the Talmud and Midrash, for their understanding of the development of Jewish religious ideas. They hardly ever resort to other writings especially those of an apocalyptic character, declaring that the role of the latter in the making of Judaism is, at best, negligible. Dr. Solomon Schechter, a master of rabbinic lore, asserted that the apocalyptic writings are "of little help to the student of rabbinic opinion, though they may be of service to the worker on the field of the Pseudepigrapha."[1] Some have gone so far as to maintain that the early rabbinical masters paid no attention to them

[1] See his *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, New York, 1909, Preface, p. IX.

nor to their teachings. The Jewish schools of Jabneh and Tiberias did not reject these writings; they deliberately ignored them.[2] Those believing the apocalyptic works are not important, place the writings of the early rabbis far above them as characteristically representing the real and essential teachings of Judaism in the days when the latter were produced. This judgment prevents a proper understanding of the nature of Jewish apocalyptic literature and of the role it played in Jewish theological and other lore.

What are these writings? They are a portion of a popular Jewish literature produced and circulated during several centuries BCE and in the first century CE. They all belong to a literary age in which many Jewish writings were produced. It was a literature considerable in bulk and varied in character. What is now extant of it is merely a survival of the fittest of a much larger number of works. Written in prose or in the prose poetry of the prophetic books of the Bible, most of them were originally circulated in Hebrew or Aramaic, others in Greek. The primeval and patriarchal history was presented as in Jubilees; the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs combines legend with moral lessons and predictions; there are hymns like the Psalms of Solomon. Some of them may be described roughly as "edifying fiction," for their setting does not necessarily mean that their authors expected or desired them to be taken for anything else. They show that the growth of apocalypse[3] is one of the most distinctive and interesting phases of Israel's literary history.

[2] Louis Ginzberg, in *JBL*, 1922, v. 41, pp. 131 ff.

[3] Translated into Latin-English by 'revelation,' and meaning etymologically *uncovering*. On the Jewish apocalyptic books see S. A. Horodezky, האפוקליפטיקה הישראלית in his המסתורין בישראל, Tel Aviv, 1931, v. 1, pp. 69–97; M. H. Amishai [Moses Maisels], מחשבה ואמת, Tel Aviv, 1939, v. 2, pp. 191 ff.; P. Churgin, מחקרים בתקופת בית שני, New York, 1949, *passim*. H. Tchernowitz, תולדות ההלכה, New York, 1950, v. 4, pp. 341 ff.; J. Klausner, היסטוריה של הבית השני, Jerusalem, 1950,

The influence which the apocalyptic writings exerted upon both Judaism and Christianity is considerable. "Both authors and readers believed that if any Revelation from God was true, it could not be new."[4] It must have been given to one or another of the figures familiar from Scriptural records. Such writings endeavor to present revelations of the unknown world, often in the form of prophecies and in haggadic or legendary elaborations of the recorded events and prophecies contained in the Sacred Scriptures. Moreover, they usually predict a speedy intervention of God in the great events of "the day," and endeavor to forecast the more or less precise period of its occurrence, with the object of confirming faith in the future of Israel and sustaining hope under the pressure of disaster and disappointment. The revelations occupy themselves mainly with the disclosure of what is beyond human knowledge, with heaven and with the life to come; their general outlook about the affairs of this world is pessimistic. In their eschatological teachings they are concerned with the final condition of man and of the world. They offer revelations of the last days of the present epoch in history, the judgment, and the golden age to follow; they contain also visions of the unseen world or visits to heaven and hell, and they seek to disclose the mysteries of the spirit world, and of

v. 3, pp. 179–213; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, Cambridge, 1927, v. 2, pp. 279–286; J. C. Rylaarsdam, "Intertestamental Studies since Charles' Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha" in *The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow*, ed. by H. R. Willoughby, Chicago, 1947, pp. 32–51 and P. E. Davies, "The Relevance of Apocalyptic for Ancient and Modern Situations," *ibid.*, pp. 279–297; Israel Abrahams, *Permanent Values in Judaism*, New York, 1923, pp. 29–52 and cf. I. H. Weiss, דור דור ודורשיו, Vienna, 1871, v. 1, pp. 206 ff. Meyer Waxman in his גלות וגאולה בספרות ישראל, New York, 1952, drew heavily and advantageously upon the early apocalyptic writings showing that in spite of their "rejection" from Jewish literature their teachings had a profound influence upon eschatological ideas in Judaism.

[4] F. C. Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, London, 1914, p. 6.

the abode and fortunes of the dead, and foretell the future of Israel. They invade the world of the supernatural in which good and evil battle for the allegiance of man and control of the universe. Some of them present plots sometimes fantastic and at other times simpler in design and execution. They contain much grotesque and imaginative speculation about angels and the future world, about the age of the Messiah, and they profess to reveal a secret or inner knowledge which is not contained in Scripture history.

Altogether they comprise a rich literature in which events, past and future, are described, and figures destined to play given roles in the eschatological scheme are portrayed. Moreover, they freely construct allegorical figures to represent historical persons and events, and in other ways endeavor to cast a veil of mystery about well-known facts. Many of them present vivid and impressionistic pictures—so numerous that they frequently fade in the memory. They are rich in imagery and tradition. Others are mystic in character and content. They designedly veil and disguise the things they endeavor to disclose. There is also a sense of mystery about these works: their authorship, contents, and composition. How, when and where was each one of them written? Virtually all of them are biblical in character and content. If written before the fixation of the collection of Hebrew Scriptures why were they not admitted into it? What were the principles which determined the incorporation into the Hebrew Bible of some parts of the apocalyptic literature and the exclusion of others? These and many others are among the problems that remain to be solved. No attempt to solve them will be made in this study; its aim is merely to appraise the character of that literature with a view to gaining for it and the ideas it transmits a rightful place in Jewish literature and lore. It will also endeavor to show that, in a

measure, some Jewish religious ideas and practices go back to teachings derived from the early Jewish apocalyptic writings.

The Prophets and the Day of God

The prophets flourished in Israel and Judah from the eighth to the fourth century BCE, and when prophecy in the sense in which it was understood had ceased long before the rise of the Christian era,[5] its place was taken by apocalypticism a development of elements latent in prophecy. While they have much in common with some of the prophetic portions of the Hebrew Scriptures the apocalyptic writings are, in no small degree, a direct offshoot of prophecy and are diverse from it. Their authors, it is true, were nurtured on the same spiritual food as the Hebrew prophets; many of the similes and metaphors employed by the apocalyptic writers are borrowed from Scriptures, which were to them the primary if not the only source of devout inspiration. And yet they are different. Looking to the future they gave expression to the yearning for the day of judgment spoken of by the Hebrew prophets. The longing for the events to come carried with it expectations of catastrophic consequences.

Unlike the prophets, the apocalyptic writers are often esoteric in character; their message is hidden; their meaning is something to be concealed from general knowledge and not infrequently it is designed for transmission in secrecy. With their appearance begins the decline of the parent stem. Their character, first seen in the Book of Isaiah, chaps. 24–27, is revealed in the Book of Ezekiel, in which two great apocalyptic features are prominent: fantastic symbolism and the picture of a great day when

[5] Cf. Ps. 74.9; I Macc. 4.66; 9.27 and 14.41.

the nations shall be gathered against Israel and when God will destroy the enemies of his people and vindicate his power (Ezek. 38–39). Incidentally, theophanies are among the elementary forms from which apocalyptic visions are evolved. Vivid descriptions of theophanies are met with in the writings of the Hebrew prophets[6] and in other Scriptural texts; they are found in characteristic portions of apocalyptic literature.

The prophetic and apocalyptic conceptions of life are not without their contradictions. One conceives the hope of the future as an inward tranformation, bringing nation and individual into willing harmony with God; the other trusts in a manifestation of external power to destroy the wicked and have the righteous remain. Like the prophets the apocalyptic writers "sought to sketch the future and were confident of their power to do so. The pattern of the prophecies of the prophets and of the apocalyptists differed, however. Speaking generally, the prophets foretold the future that should arise out of the present, while the apocalyptists foretold the future that should break into the present."[7] Indeed, they looked forward to the achievement of God's purpose, not by evolutionary manifestations, but by fortuitous events in history,[8] the result of sudden supernatural interventions.

The apocalyptic mind was filled with images of great catastrophes, the final judgment of the world of God. The human race was to be destroyed by means of a mighty conflagration. Apparently Jewish apocalyptic ideas coalesced

[6] For an interesting study of the subject see Julian Morgenstern, "Biblical Theophanies" in *ZA*, 1911, v. 25, pp. 139–193; 1913, v. 28, pp. 15–60. See also Nelson Glueck, "The Theophany of the God of Sinai," *JAOS*, 1936, v. 56, pp. 462–471.

[7] H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of the Apocalyptic*, London, 1944, p. 35.

[8] The nearest approach to an evolutionary concept is in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in which the coming of the kingdom of God is preceded by an increasing earthly betterment (see e. g., Testament of Levi 18).

with the Stoic doctrine that the world would end in fire.[9] Seeing the hidden secrets of the heavenly realm, they endeavored to reveal the spiritual forces in the shaping of the destiny of the world according to God's plan. They looked to the future, for it holds the key that unlocks all problems, solves all mysteries and inequalities, and harmonizes all contradictions. Unlike the prophets—especially the literary ones, who as a rule appeal to reason and conscience rather than to imagination—the apocalyptic writers unfold a great panorama of the future as they had come to know it through study, meditation and vision.

In its original sense, the phrase "the Day of God" as employed by several of the Hebrew prophets meant no more than a fateful day decreed by God. In later days it acquired the meaning of "the end of all days" and of "the last judgment."[10] "The Day of God" will appear at the end of days in the sense of a time of divine judgment of the wicked. A description of the divine judgment in heaven is found in Dan. 7.9–9.22 in which "the ancient of days" is depicted as sitting upon the throne while the books are open before him. This description recurs in apocalyptic writings and has found its way into the liturgy of the Synagogue. Actually the apocalyptic concept of "the Day of God" presents a theophany, a manifestation of God, in which he destroys with extraordinary means the enemies of Israel who *ipso facto* are his own enemies.

[9] On the "flood of fire," see Louis Ginzberg, מבול של אש in הגורן, ed. by S. A. Horodezky, Berditchev, 1911, v. 8, pp. 35–51. Cf. Samuel Alexandrow, אגדת אש מן השמים in הלפיות, Berditchev, 1895, part 2, pp. 21–31.

[10] See Ladislav Černý, *The Day of Yahweh and some relevant problems*, Prague, 1948, pp. 79–80. The phrase "in that day" which like "the Day of God" occurs frequently in the Hebrew Bible presupposes "a divine judgment that shall mark the climax of the present age, while the phrase (באחרית הימים) 'the latter end of the days' denotes the horizon of the present, and the age that shall follow this." See Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

The Mussaf services on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur contain a number of apocalyptic passages appropriate to the traditional association of the New Year with the acts of creation. In sentiment and ideas they closely resemble passages from the Assumption of Moses (12.4–5): "All the nations which are in the earth God has created and us, He has foreseen them and us from the beginning of the creation of the earth unto the end of the age, and nothing has been neglected by Him even to the least thing, but all things He has foreseen and caused all to come forth. Yea all things which are to be in this earth the Lord has foreseen and lo! they are brought forward into the light . . ." These two verses from an early apocalyptic work present a good example of the wealth of ideas permeating the apocalyptic literature of the Jews—ideas which have abundantly found their way into the liturgy of the Synagogue, and pervade the vast lore and literature of the rabbis, the Talmud and the Midrash.

Like some of his contemporaries the author of the Assumption of Moses apparently believed that all things created and intended for creation in this world were foreseen by God, and that their numbers were fixed at the very outset of creation. Like other apocalyptic writers he links this belief with the idea of "the end of days." Indeed, this entire view is based on the idea of "the end" and "the end" is especially attributed to those who maintained the belief that everything in the universe was fixed and anticipated at the very beginning of creation. To be sure they did not form part of the actual work of the creation period; they can only be thought of as pre-ordained. The idea served as an incentive to urge repentance and to stimulate performance of good deeds.[11]

[11] In this is discernible the blending of opinions expressed by Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrkanus and Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah and reiterated

There are several passages in Hebrew Scripture which are apocalyptic in character and content. A portrayal of the coming of "the Day of God" as a day of wrath and anger, a day of destruction of the enemies of God is to be found in Isa. 13.5–13. The sun, the moon and the stars are to be darkened, the heaven will tremble, the earth will reel and shake. This section is a "little apocalypse" nestling within the text of one of the great prophetic books in Hebrew literature. Significantly it contains no reference to the "latter days." Unlike later apocalyptic writings, early apocalypses evidently dealt not with the end of the world, but with the end of a period.

Such is not the case in the vision of the prophet Ezekiel in which the destruction of Gog is described as an event that is to occur "after many days" . . . "in the latter years" . . . "in the end of days."[12] It tells how God, in his fury, will shake the land of Israel[13] and make the earth quake so that even the fish will be terrified, the mountains will be overthrown, storms will rage covering the invading hordes of barbarians from the North, the West and the East, with hail stones, fire and brimstone.[14] Even those "who dwell securely in the isles" but are ready and willing to profit from the miseries of Israel and to buy Hebrews enslaved by the barbarians will be destroyed by fire; the distant land of Magog will be devastated. The Jews will

in the teachings of the Amoraim. See S. Mendelsohn, in *JE*, V, 113–115. Cf., the prayers אתה זוכר מעשה עולם in the Rosh Hashanah Musaf service and ויאתיו כל לעבדך in the Musaf service of Yom Kippur. Schechter (*Studies in Judaism*, 2nd series, Philadelphia, 1908, p. 19) speaks of the latter as a well-known Piyut, "which, in its iconoclastic victory of monotheism over all kinds of idolatries, ancient as well as modern, might be best described as the Marseillaise which is not followed by a Reign of Terror, but by the Kingdom of God on earth, when the upright shall exult, and the saints triumphantly rejoice."

[12] Ezek. 38.8, 16.

[13] *Ibid.* 38.19–20.

[14] *Ibid.* 39.19–23.

gather the weapons of their enemies as fuel which they will use freely for seven years. The dead will be buried in a valley. Even though all "the people of the land" will be occupied with this task, the dead will be so numerous that it will require seven months to dispose of them. All this will not represent the destruction of the heathen world because all the nations will then know that Israel is now justified and vindicated by God.[15]

Though differing in many ways from the Hebrew prophets who preceded him the Second Isaiah, too, gives a few apocalyptic touches to his portrayal of the return of the exiles, telling how mountains will be uprooted,[16] lakes and sea will dry up,[17] deserts will be flooded,[18] and the earth will tremble;[19] even the day will be darkened and the sky clothed with utter darkness as if it were a sackcloth.[20] There is no clear evidence that in the mind of the Second Isaiah these extraordinary occurrences will mark the end of the world.

These examples of descriptions of apocalyptic events taken from Hebrew prophetic literature deal mainly with superhuman or cosmic forces working in conformity with the plan of heavenly predestination which dominates history. However, the prophets, having only this world in view, announced, in a rather vague way, "the Day of God," when the God of Sinai would appear as the mighty moral force to execute his judgment upon the wicked nations and establish righteousness on earth. The apoca-

[15] *Ibid.* 39.21–24. Cf. John A. Mesnard, *Les tendances apocalyptiques chez le prophète Ezéchiel*, Cahors, 1909 and Lorenz Dürr, *Die Stellung des Propheten Ezechiel in der israelitisch-jüdischen Apokalyptik*, Münster, 1923.

[16] Isa. 40.4; 49.11; 54.10; cf. 51.10.

[17] *Ibid.* 42.15; 50.2.

[18] *Ibid.* 41.18.

[19] *Ibid.* 41.5.

[20] *Ibid.* 50.3.

lyptic writers, on the other hand, with their view extended over a world beyond this, point with a reassuring definiteness amid the great tribulation and anxiety caused by the wicked world-kingdom, to the approaching doom of this world and the rise of God's kingdom in all its miraculous power. In language indicative of the present crisis and in a form more definite than that of the prophets, while anticipating the approaching "end" in the near future and transcendental in a catastrophic manner, they announced the dawn of a better world in which the inadequacies of the present life would be adjusted and rectified. They spoke of this as poets would speak, but indeed as poets speaking true things. "They foresaw the action of God in transforming the moral and spiritual conditions of men, and that in a way closely related to their own fate; they expressed this in a great way as great seers would, in terms of the conceptions of their own age." They implied that "the Day of God" will manifest itself as "a consummation involving both catastrophic judgment and the inauguration of a new age."[21]

Somewhat like the prophets, the apocalyptic writers occupied themselves with the process and goal of history, —the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. Taking a sublime view of the history of the world, they divided it into great epochs, considering them in terms of empires or millenniums,[22] and visualizing its consummation

[21] A. N. Wilder, *Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus*, New York, 1950, p. 9.

[22] In their eschatological scheme the apocalyptic writers include a world-week of seven millenniums corresponding with the week of Creation. The verse "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday" (Ps. 90.4) suggested the idea that (עולם הזה) the present world of toil and turmoil is to be followed by a Sabbatical millennium (עולם הבא) "the world to come." (See Enoch 23.1; Apocalypse of Ezra 7.30, 43; Testament of Abraham A. 19; B. 7; Vita Adae et Evae 42. Cf. Tamid 7.4; R. H. 31a; Sanh. 97a; Abot de R. Nathan 1, ed. Schechter, p. 5). Of these the six millenniums were again divided into

in the kingdom of God.[23] This was their conception of the ultimate goal of history which at once lent a higher meaning and a loftier purpose to the struggle and suffering of the people of God. Such a concept furnished comfort and hope in a period of trial and tribulation. This idea underlies the contrast between "the kingdoms of the powers of the earth" and "the kingdom of God" which is to be delivered over at the end of time to those worthy of it among the people of Israel.[24] In other words, the apocalyptic writers endeavored to set forth a complete scheme of the world's history, an outline, of what may be expected to come to pass until the consummation of all things and the creation of a new state of society: the kingdom of God on earth. Nothing loomed larger in their thought than the idea of the Sovereignty of God which is fundamental both to them and to the rabbis.

When the apocalyptic writers speak of "the kingdom of God" they usually think of the time when the new order will be established after the present order comes to an end. The new order will manifest itself "as the regenerated community, in which the divine will should be realized."[25] In their anticipation of this event the apocalyptic writers display a combination of pessimism and optimism: pessimism because the present world is hopelessly involved in evil, and optimism because this condition is not destined

three periods: the first 2000 years without the Torah, the next 2000 years under the rule of the Torah, and the last 2000 years preparing amid struggles and through catastrophies for the rule of the Messiah (see Sanh. 97a; Ab. Zarah 9a; Mid. Tehil. 90.17).

[23] To avoid the use of the Ineffable Name it is often spoken of as "the kingdom of heaven" מלכות שמים, a term by which the rabbis mean essentially the Sovereignty of God.

[24] See Dan. 2.44; 7.14, 27; cf. K. Kohler, in *JE*, V, 210.

[25] R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity*, London, 1913, 2. ed., p. 84.

to last forever. The kingdom of God to which they looked forward included, in all likelihood, the idea of both the rule and the realm of God. The realm is conceived not geographically but rather as the collective body of those who acknowledged the rule.[26] The idea plays an essential role in the prophetic view of the time-process from the days of Amos onward,[27] and, in a larger measure, in the apocalyptic writings.[28] In the latter the underlying and presupposed unity of history becomes more or less explicit.[29] History is the unfolding of the divine purpose and a movement towards an end, namely, a universal and everlasting kingdom of righteousness. All that seemed to challenge the divine purpose appears to be merely a part of human history, which will culminate in the glory of the final

[26] G. Dalman (*The Words of Jesus*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 94) states that "both in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature, מלכות "kingdom" when applied to God means always the kingly rule, never the kingdom as if it were meant to suggest the territory governed by Him. In the apocalyptic writings, too, the term "kingdom" is used in the general sense of "reign" and not in the sense of "realm." Incidentally, the exact phrase itself is found neither in Hebrew Scripture nor in the apocalyptic writings. The only reference in the index to Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, v. 2, p. 856 is 3 Baruch 11.2 (Michael, who holds the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, is a very late and not unlikely a Christian passage).

[27] M. Buttenwieser, *The Prophets of Israel*, New York, 1914. Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1946 (Ch. X: The Day of Yahweh), pp. 135–147.

[28] In Daniel, for instance, one finds the working out of the divine purpose in a series of stages, diversely pictured, yet always culminating in the final victory of God as in the interpretation of the image (Dan. 2.36 ff.), or in the "animal" kingdom (Dan. 7.1–14).

[29] R. H. Charles (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Oxford, 1929, Introduction, p. XXV) observes that it was "apocalyptic and not prophecy that was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, human, cosmological and spiritual is a unity — a unity that follows inevitably as a corollary to the unity of God as enforced by the Old Testament prophets." H. W. Robinson (*op. cit.*, p. 132) maintains "that apocalyptic made explicit what was already implicit in prophecy."

manifestation. This conception passed from the Hebrew prophets to the apocalyptic writers, and through them found its way into Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism. It helped the pious to sense the nearness of God even when his ways seemed hard to understand. On the basis of tradition or of visionary experiences, or of both, the apocalyptic writers endeavored to set forth the divine plan as they conceived it. Since the plan embraces the past as well as the future they placed their writings in the past, ascribing them to familiar figures of ancient days.[30] The apocalyptic writers "sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil, its course, and inevitable overthrow, the ultimate triumph of righteousness, and the final consummation of all things."[31]

[30] Whatever the cause which prompted the apocalyptic writers to offer their works under the cloak of pseudonymity, it presents evidence of the early use of an interesting literary device now familiar in virtually all literatures. The device was not new with the apocalyptic writers; they found it in early Hebrew literature. At an early date in Israel, it became customary to offer prophecies *ex eventu*. It was a popular literary device to put into the mouth of some ancient figure a poetic blessing or curse, in the text of which, events already historical were pictured as foreshadowed. Thus, for instance, Gen. 49, the so-called Blessing of Jacob tells of the subsequent situation, character and fate of the twelve tribes of Israel as unfolded during the age of the Judges and under the early monarchy, pictured as predictively declared to the twelve sons, just before the death of their father Jacob. In its present form the Blessing of Jacob is often ascribed to the time of the early monarchy and it represents the history as then known (see J. Skinner, *ICC on Genesis*, pp. 507 f.). A biblical name having once been adopted for an apocalypse, the writer had to make the situation accord with it. Thus, for instance, the Apocalypse of Baruch offers a description of the period of the destruction of Jerusalem, and immediately after that, Baruch sees his visions. The author of the Apocalypse of Ezra offers his revelations thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

[31] R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, etc., London, 1913, p. 183. See also H. H. Rowley, *The Rediscovery of the Old Testament*, London, 1946, pp. 184–201.

The Prophetic Idea of History

The apocalyptic writers continued to develop the prophetic idea of history. Like the prophets they believed that God intervenes in the affairs of the world. While the apocalyptic writers urged it more directly, the prophets endeavored to show it by advancing schemes of successive periods of history up to virtually their own time. But in so doing they "spoke from the standpoint of the present, while from the time of the issue of the Book of Daniel it became a characteristic of the apocalyptists that they threw themselves back into the past, under an assumed name, and put in the guise of prophecy things that were past in their own day as the prelude to their unfolding of the grand dénouement of history which they believed to be imminent."[32] This became a characteristic feature of many an apocalyptic work the author of which assumed the name, often even the point of view, of some one known from a more or less distant age, and included under the form of prediction both what to him was actually history of the past, and what, in reality as well as in form, was prediction of the future.

While a universal element is apparent in the writings of the Hebrew prophets it does not occupy the principal place: in the foreground are the *present* circumstances of the nation, social, religious or political, as the case may be. The view of the apocalyptic writers is both wider and more definite. They often survey a continuous *succession* of world-empires, pointing out how their sequence is determined in advance and declare that, at the appointed time, they are to be overthrown by the kingdom of God. Sometimes they even venture to indicate the almost precise moment when the overthrow is to take place.

[32] H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance*, etc., London, 1944, p. 36.

From the time of the exile, the Jews were brought into far closer contact with the great world-empires than ever before. As they witnessed one empire making room for another, the problem of their own relation to the powers of the world pressed upon them with increasing directness and cogency. The prophets had promised to the restored nation ideal glories, but the reality had proved very different: their promises had remained unfulfilled. Under Antiochus Epiphanes the very existence of the theocracy was threatened, as never before, by a coalition of heathen foes without and with disloyal brethren within.[33] The question *when* the heathen domination would cease was anxiously asked by faithful Jews. The answer is given in their contemporary apocalyptic writings. Looking upon the past, the present and the future, as parts of a predetermined whole, the apocalyptic writers placed themselves at the only epoch from which this would be seen in continous perspective: upon the basis supplied them by tradition. They were men whose age had coincided with events marking definite turning points in the history of their people, when Israel became dependent upon the great powers of the world, and who, while surveying from the center and stronghold of heathenism the future conflicts between the powers and the theocracy forecast the gradual degeneration of the former and the final triumph of the latter.[34]

Again, like the prophets the apocalyptic writers do not merely foretell events; they also interpret them. They deal not with a single empire, but with a succession of empires, showing how they all form parts of a whole, ordained for

[33] See Robert H. Pfeiffer, *A History of New Testament Times*, New York, 1949, pp. 461 ff., and especially the illuminating introduction by Solomon Zeitlin to *The First Book of Maccabees*, Dropsie College Edition, New York, 1950.

[34] H. W. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 f.

fixed terms by God, and tend towards anticipated consequences. For the purpose required, the type of representation is artificial; it is largely symbolical, the symbolism being not the simple kind familiar from the writings of the Hebrew prophets, but more elaborate and detailed. That the past is, to some degree, represented as future, is a consequence of the literary form often adopted by the apocalyptic writers for the purpose of securing the unity of the picture.[35] It is a favorite device of theirs to present past history clothed in the garb of prophecy. The historical apocalypse[36] is the successor of prophecy, but there is an

[35] See F. Delitzsch, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, Edinburgh, 1872, p. 469. In interpreting the prophets, it is always necessary to distinguish between the *substance* of a prophecy and the *form* in which it is presented. The prophets always clothe the essential truth which they desire to express in imagery that is figurative or symbolical (see e. g., Isa. 11.15 ff., 19.16 ff., 23.17 ff., 66.23). The elements in apocalyptic writings which, viewed critically, are predictive in appearance but not in reality, are just part of the symbolic imagery adopted for the purpose of developing one of the main objects in view, usually the theocratic significance of the history. Symbolic method is inherent in apocalyptic writings. In Daniel, for instance, political events of the past, present and future are represented by apocalyptic symbols. Often such symbols suggest a meaning, not always logical or equivalent, but one beyond the compass of words, clear only to the intuitive vision of the seer. Allegory and symbolism are preeminently adapted to visionary literature. The term visionary must be interpreted broadly enough to include the dream world of the apocalyptic writers. On the difference between allegory and symbol see W. B. C. Watkins, *Shakespeare and Spenser*, Princeton, 1950, Chapter on Spenser's handling of allegory.

[36] The Greek term ἀποκάλυψις was first employed to designate the written account of a vision (חזון Dan. 8.1), and then applied to the book containing it. When originally used as a title of a book it was in connection with the Apocalypse in the New Testament. The title may have been conveniently derived from its opening word ἀποκάλυψις = "revelation" (Revelation 1.1). Thereafter it was applied to other writings of a like character. The term designates not only a literary type and the body of literature of that genre, but also the world-view, or doctrinal teachings about last things. It is concerned with two basic ethical problems: the removal of evil from man and the world, and the achievement of the ideal humanity.

essential difference between prophecy and apocalypse.[37] The prophet looks to the divinely guided process of history to lead to a better era. The apocalyptic writer, driven to despair by a long series of disasters and by the weakness and wickedness of men, has no hope except in the direct and visible intervention of the Almighty. In the apocalyptic writings that hope fills the whole horizon.

The assumption that the main function of Hebrew prophecy was prediction of what is to happen in the future is not well founded, but it is true of the apocalyptic writers. They conceived of prophecy as essentially predictive, the revelation of what is to come to pass. Unlike the prophets, who delivered their messages in plain, direct terms, the apocalyptic writers appear as seers, who present their messages as having been received by means of visions. Sometimes the meaning of a vision is given by an angel, sometimes the reader is allowed to discover it for himself. If the prophet had originally taken the place of the primitive seer, who was probably no more than a magician, (I Sam. 9.9) the seer returned, no doubt upon a higher religious and moral level, when prophecy decayed and apocalyptic writing replaced it.

But most of the apocalyptic writings now extant in Jewish literature had their beginnings at a time when Israel had long been subject to the sway of one or another of the great world-powers. They were produced in days

[37] Apocalyptic writings are often spoken of as visions, assumptions and prophecies. The apocalyptic writers usually do not pretend to speak with the authority of the prophet: they virtually never use the prophetical asseverations "Thus saith the Lord," "Saith the Lord," or "The word of the Lord came unto me," etc. Their work must be distinguished from genuine prophecy, which conceives the future as a time when nations and individuals will be transformed into loyal children of God. Prophecy hopes to convert the wicked; apocalypse would destroy them and thus make room for righteousness. See R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–206.

of distress and oppression. Their background is always the same: Israel is suffering grievous things at the hand of the oppressor. But because the promises of God cannot fail, his power must be vindicated triumphantly and all wrong set right.[38] To harmonize their difficulties with the righteousness of God, the apocalyptic writers had to take account of the role such world-powers play in the counsels of God; to recount the sway and the downfall of each in turn, until such time as the anticipated sovereignty of Israel or the final judgment might come to pass. Indeed, some of them were more concerned with the power which is to come to Israel after the world cataclysm than with the recognition that is to be accorded their religious teachings. In a manner entirely their own, they endeavored to explain and to justify the ways of God to men. Many of the events they described had already taken place; yet they are represented as a part of the future, they are arranged within certain artificial categories of time, pre-determined from the beginning in the counsels of God, and revealed to the patriarchs and the prophets. Such is the manner in which the apocalyptic writers attempted to cope with the difficulties inherent in the belief in God's righteousness and to solve the problem of the suffering of his faithful on earth. In so doing they followed a pattern set by the prophets, who, likewise endeavored to explain the role of God in the reversive experiences of Israel at the hands of some neighboring power.

Behind the confusion, perplexity and injustice of the moment lies the inscrutable wisdom of God which men cannot presume to understand, much less to question.[39] Redress for present wrong may, according to the apocalyptic writers, come in either of two ways: by recompense

[38] See Apocalypse of Ezra 6.57–59.
[39] See *ibid.* 4.1–11.

in the life of the world to come, or by the overthrow of the oppressor on this earth by some special manifestation of God's power. When the apocalyptic writers are predicting the overthrow of the oppressor in this life, they do not always furnish enough data as to the circumstances of the moment to define him with certainty. Sometimes, no doubt, they were intentionally obscure because the oppressor was in power at the moment, and if a book which asserted that his days were numbered were to come into his hands, he was in a position to make his resentment felt. His downfall must therefore be foretold in such terms as would be intelligible only to those who were meant to understand and to no one else.[40]

It was because of the challenge to authority that apocalyptic teachings, whether of Hellenistic or Palestinian origin, fell into disfavor with certain groups in Jewry, especially the Pharisees. The then current apocalyptic teachings presented a living force in Judaism. The Pharisees seem to have regarded them as empty, even dangerous dreams which might jeopardize the well-being of the Jewish community in its relationship to Rome. They were apprehensive lest such teachings incite popular uprisings, and give the oppressor a chance to interfere with the inner life of the Jews. Especially obnoxious to the Pharisees were the eschatological teachings in apocalyptic literature. These teachings, however, seem to be the very ones to which the people clung even after the early apocalyptic writings disappeared from the literature of the Jews.[41] While the

[40] See *ibid.* 12.37–38.

[41] The Pharisees themselves were not altogether unaware of the fact that in their own ranks were men who cherished apocalyptic ideas which had a profound effect upon the rise of the Christian religion. "Thus apocalyptic Pharisaism became, speaking historically, the parent of Christianity . . ." (R. H. Charles, *Religious development between the Old and the New Testament*, New York, 1914, p. 35). "After a time the Apocalyses fell out of favor in the Christian Church also, as the ex-

apocalyptic writers are rather fantastic in describing events to come, they speak in no uncertain terms of courage, hope and patience in times of trial and tribulation, when men's hearts are failing them for fear and when they are apprehensive about those things which are coming upon the earth. They presented the events to come in eschatological ideas, and usually in apocalyptic terms. This was the inevitable language of the people to express what they sought. They grasped enough of the future judgment that pressed upon their age to proclaim it and to face it. To be sure, what they thought of the character of the future was fantastic; it was the offspring of imaginative speculation on the conduct of men in the light of experience and prophecy. Their message did not fall on deaf ears; for they flourished at a time in which hope and faith taught men to expect supernatural intervention whenever human help seemed inadequate. And they possessed an invincible faith in the righteousness of God. It would be rash to assume that civilization has reached, or that it ever will reach, such a pitch that it has no more need of such counsel.[42]

The people, too, assumed a more or less definite attitude to the apocalyptic writings of the day. In their own minds and under the spell of those writings, there grew up an apocalyptic tendency, whereby the people seemed to expect that God would bring his promises to realization through the exercise of his overwhelming and catastrophic power. He would destroy their foes and thus give Israel the chance which otherwise began to seem hopeless. This cropped out already in the apocalyptic views of Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah not dominantly, to be sure, but suggestively. There also developed a growing sense of

pectation of the speedy end of all things gradually faded away." — F. C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[42] See Apocalypse of Ezra 12.46–47.

God's aloofness and awfulness alongside of the sense of his greatness. The unusual element in these two ideas seemed to favor a development of a belief in the presence of super-human beings, who were to act as God's intermediaries.

Unfulfilled Prophecies

The early apocalyptic writers were fully aware that unfulfilled prophecies repose within the writings of the Hebrew prophets. According to R. H. Charles[43] such prophecies often served as incentives, even as sources, for apocalyptic speculation. There is a conscious attempt on the part of the apocalyptic writers to reinterpret the more picturesque of those prophecies and adding some of their own. He cites, for example, the case of the prophet Ezekiel, whom Bernhard Duhm[44] has called "the spiritual founder of apocalyptic" who himself endeavored to re-interpret the unfulfilled prophecies concerning "the foe whose invasion of Israel from the north" which are contained in Jer. (chaps. 3–6) and Zeph. (1.7).[45] Ezek. (chaps. 38–39) revived the prophecy. When, speaking of Gog, of the land of Magog, he asked: "Art thou he of whom I spoke in old time by My servants the prophets of Israel, that prophecied in those days for many years, that I would bring thee against

[43] *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, p. 108 and pp. 184 ff.

[44] *Die Theologie der Propheten*, Bonn, 1875, p. 210. L. Dürr (*op. cit.*) has shown that Ezekiel marks the passage from prophecy to apocalypse. On "the date and character of Ezekiel's prophecies," see Moses Buttenwieser, *HUCA*, Cincinnati, 1930, v. 7, pp. 1–18. Cf. J. N. Simchoni, יחזקאל הנביא in העתיד, Berlin, 1912, v. 4, pp. 209–234 and J. Klausner, היסטוריה של הבית השני, Jerusalem, 1949, v. 1, pp. 100 f.

[45] Incidentally, Ezekiel projected a picture of an ideal state on a distant eschatological screen and thus joined the ranks of the early apocalyptic writers. See Louis Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, Philadelphia, 1938, pp. 312 ff.

them?" (38.17).[46] Ezekiel adopted whatever apocalyptic expectation existed before his time and he made it more specific. His apocalyptic predictions form the virtual basis for those of a like nature that came later. They include the defeat of the hostile world-powers, represented by Gog of Magog; the restoration of Israel; the erection of a new temple in which God will dwell; and the coming of an era of undisturbed peace and prosperity, at least for Israel. The Apocalypse of Ezek. (chaps. 38–39) and the apocalyptic touches in the Second Isaiah are not due to faith grappling with despair, not even to faith out of touch with reality and occupying itself with various problems including that of evil; rather are they expressive of faith growing and suffering through a crisis, faith that disdains to wait for better days as a result of political change or skillful intrigue.[47] Ezekiel's vision of the destruction of Gog and Isa. 13.5–15, containing the description of the cosmic wonders accompanying the destruction of Babylon are among the apocalyptic writings of the exile; they are certainly excellent examples of the classic apocalyptic manner.

The apocalyptic writers searched the literature of the prophets in an effort to learn the future destiny of Israel and of the nations. Without hesitation they revealed their findings through visions, reports of which they incorporated in their own writings. Their calculations were often based

[46] See G. A. Cooke, *ICC on Ezekiel*, pp. 406 ff. The warfare against Gog and Magog formed the indispensable prelude to the advent of the Messianic era in every apocalyptic vision. See e. g., Sibylline 3.319 ff., 512 ff., 632 ff.; 5.101; Enoch 56 ff., where the place of Gog and Magog is taken by the Parthians and Medes; Apocalypse of Ezra 13.5 "a multitude of men without number from the four winds of the earth"; Apocalypse of Baruch 70.7–10. See also Targ. Yer. to the following passages: Num. 11.26; 24.17; Ex. 40.11; Deut. 32.39 and Isa. 33.25.

[47] See e. g., Ezek. 38.39 and cf. Zech. 1.20 f., Isa. 25.6–10 and 26.21.

upon unfulfilled prophecies, such as Jeremiah's seventy years,[48] with the help of which they endeavored to fix "the end of days."[49] Such calculations often brought disappointment and woe upon the people. Their authors are sometimes spoken of, by the rabbis, rather reproachingly, as "calculators of the [messianic] end."[50] Rabbi Jose taught that "he who announces the messianic time based on calculation forfeits his own share in the future."[51] In an interesting apocalyptic statement recorded in the Midrash[52] an endeavor is made to fix the time when the kingdom of God will appear on earth: "When the kingdom of Rome has ripened enough to be destroyed, the kingdom of God will appear." Political action was evidently anticipated in this statement. The greater then the oppression by the Worldly (Roman) kingdom, the more eager were the Jews, especially the pious ones, for the kingdom of Heaven to come speedily. An echo of this sentiment is found in the New Testament, which speaks of the approach of this kingdom in opposition to the kingdom of Rome, announced by John the Baptist.[53] However, the trend of events was

[48] Jer. 25.11; 29.10. Cf. Dan. 9.2. See Josephus, *Jewish War* II, 8 § 6, 12; *Ant.* XIII. 5 § 9 where the term εἱμαρμένη is to be explained eschatologically.

[49] Dan. 9.25 ff., Enoch 89.59.

[50] There are a number of references in the Talmud to calculating the time when the Son of David, i. e. the Messiah, would come. Several examples are given, based upon Hab. 2.3. It also contains the dictum of R. Jonathan b. Eleazar, a Palestinian Amora of the third century, reported by R. Samuel b. Naḥman, "May they perish who calculate ends (מחשבי קצים); for they said, as soon as the end is reached and he has not come, he will not come any more." Sanh. 97b; cf. 92b, 99a; Ket. 111a; Shab. 138b; Eduy. 2.9–10. For the expression קץ הימין see Dan. 12.4, 13; Ass. Mos. 1.18; 12.4; Apocalypse of Ezra 3.14; Apocalypse of Baruch 27.15; also Matth. 13.39 and 24.3. For a discussion of the subject see A. Marmorstein, in העברי, New York, 1920, v. 10, no. 44, pp. 11–13.

[51] Derek Erez Rabba 11.

[52] Cant. R. 2.12.

[53] Matth. 3.2; cf. Luke 1.71–74 and 3.17.

such as to lead early Christianity to make a decided disavowal of all political expectations aimed against Rome. Thus the idea of the kingdom of God was made an entirely spiritual one, and was identified with "the world to come," the spiritual life in which "there is no eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the holy spirit."[54]

From Ezekiel's time forward the apocalyptic elements of prophecy increase. With Joel and his successors prophecy has largely changed into apocalyptic. Joel (3.9–17) takes both the form and thought of prophecy, converting the older prophetic symbol of peace into a call to war, and forecasting that the nations that have gathered together against Israel will be cut down by God, for his people's deliverance and his own vindication. Joel cannot conceive of a day when Egypt and Assyria shall worship with Israel; for him the peace and perpetuity of Jerusalem demand the devastation of her neighbors. Though prophecy in the sense in which it was held had not fully disappeared in the fourth century BCE, the apocalyptic spirit was on the rise. Zechariah adopted Ezekiel's symbolism while retaining much of the general spirit of prophecy. His late oracles (chaps. 9–14, especially 12–14) show still further development of apocalyptic tendencies (14.1–11, 16–21). Finally the vision culminates in worship, *ritually* pure; priest and apocalyptist now express the nation's ideals and they too are closely related, since each conceives the hope of humanity to rest in some power imposed from without. The forecasts of these prophets do not as a rule stand in a definite relation to the present and its needs; they are frequently the result of literary reflection on former prophecies.[55]

[54] Romans 14.17. A like opinion is expressed by Rab, the celebrated Babylonian Amora and founder of the Academy of Sura. Ber. 17a.

[55] Some of the apocalyptic writers likewise endeavored to reinterpret not only earlier prophecies in terms of the events and conditions of

A rather important piece of apocalyptic writing found its way into Hebrew Scripture in Isaiah chaps. 24–27, which includes a unique, though brief, apocalyptic description of the Day of God. While it bears marks of the age of the Greek domination,[56] it appears to be "the earliest portion of the Bible which definitely asserts the belief in resurrection (26.19) and adopts the doctrine of semi-human angels (24.21). This doctrine finds its place also in later apocalyptic writings such as the Book of Daniel and the Book of Jubilees. It consists of the belief that each nation has its particular angel in heaven.[57] Isaiah believes that when God will visit the nations on earth, He will also visit 'the angels of heaven in heaven'."[58] This

their own day; they also found occasion to do so with early apocalyptic visions as well. An instance in point is the reinterpretation of the seventh chapter of Daniel by the author of the Apocalypse of Ezra (12.10–11 ff.): "This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. The eagle which . . . is the fourth kingdom . . . appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel; but it was not interpreted unto him, as I now interpret it unto thee."

[56] B. Duhm (*Israels Propheten*, Tübingen, 1916, pp. 434 ff.) confidently dates it as a product of the late Maccabean era, i. e., as late as ca. 129 or 128 BCE. His confidence is not well grounded. Sounder is the opinion of E. Sellin (*Introduction to the Old Testament*, New York, 1923, p. 138) who maintains that this "apocalypse gives no clue whatever to the more exact determination of its date." Professor C. C. Torrey contends that the period of the Second Commonwealth shows no decline in Hebrew literary endeavors. He finds no interruption in the prophetic activities which, he thinks, lasted until the time which witnessed the production of Jewish apocalyptic writings; he says some of these "are as truly 'prophecy' as anything that had preceded; the flavor of a later and more advanced stage of thought cannot deprive them of the name, however we may rank them in intrinsic merit." See his *The Second Isaiah*, New York, 1928, pp. 85 ff. and cf. his *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the original prophecy*, New Haven, 1930.

[57] The belief that each nation has its guardian angel in heaven is derived from Dan. 10.20–21. On the role such angels play according to apocalyptic lore, see Kaufmann Kohler in *JE*, I, 594 ff. Cf. D. Flato, מלאכי עליון ושליחותם לדרי מטה in אדר היקר in honor of S. A. Horodezky, Tel Aviv, 1947, pp. 81–87.

[58] For a fuller discussion of this subject see Louis Finkelstein, *op. cit.*,

interpretation of Isaiah chaps. 24–27, is not shared by all scholars. W. Rudolph,[59] for instance, maintains that though it contains apocalyptic motifs, the Isaiah-Apocalypse has a character entirely its own. While the apocalyptic character of its ideas and imagery profoundly impressed many commentators on the text, John Skinner[60] cautiously observes: "There has perhaps been a tendency to exaggerate this feature; if we compare the passage with a typical apocalypse, like the Book of Daniel, the differences are certainly more striking than the resemblances." Apparently apocalyptic elements make themselves more and more strongly felt in the later portions of the Hebrew Bible, and in the extensive editing of some earlier prophetic writings, culminating in the entire Book of Daniel as *the* apocalyptic work in Hebrew Scriptures.

With ideas and imagery drawn from many sources, the apocalyptic writers presented pictures depicting the great crises and the messianic times; they attempted to predict how and when those times would come about. The Book of Daniel sets a pattern which its successors imitate and vary. A recurrent scheme, for example, is that in which the power of four great empires, successive representatives of the kingdom of this world in its hostility to God and his people, is destroyed in turn, in order to make way for the kingdom of the righteous and the Most High. Similarly, from the second century BCE on there is a recurring exercise in apocalyptic arithmetic to compute the time when the rule of the heathen shall be overthrown and

pp. 536 f., and especially Ezekiel Kaufmann, לשאלת האפוקליפסה של. אדר היקר in "ישעיה" (ישעי' כ"ד–כ"ז), Tel Aviv, 1947, pp. 41–47, reprinted with additional matter in his תולדות האמונה הישראלית, Jerusalem, 1947, v. 3, pp. 185–192.

[59] *Jesaja* 24–27, Stuttgart, 1933, p. 59.

[60] *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah*, chapters I–XXXIX, Cambridge, 1909, p. 179.

the golden age begin, operating with a cycle of four hundred and ninety years—seventy times seven, or as in the Book of Enoch, ten times forty-nine.

Transition from Prophecy to Apocalypse

There was no sudden transition whatever from prophecy to apocalypse. The assumption that "with Daniel begins the apocalyptic literature of Judaism"[61] is not well-founded. Given a place in Scripture, Daniel is the first great apocalyptic work to be born, in some measure, out of the past, but in greater measure out of the present, the Maccabaean age. Daniel certainly does not introduce a new type of literature in Judaism. Daniel shows rather that apocalypse is strongly dependent on prophecy, and that the teachings of the prophets, especially those of post-exilic days from Ezekiel on, follow in no small degree in the trend of the apocalyptic writers. In fact, many of late prophetic writings assume the character of the apocalyptic. Similarly the apocalyptic writers made considerable use of Ezekiel's visions, of the ecstatic form of his experiences as a prophet.[62]

[61] See Bousset-Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im spät-hellenistischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1926, p. 12. משמתו נביאים האחרונים חגי זכריה ומלאכי פסקה מהם רוח הקדש אע"פ כן משתמשין היו בבת קול Yer. Sota 24b. Conforming to the chronology it offers, *Seder Olam* (ch. 30, ed. Ratner, 70b) states that the prophets prophesied by the holy spirit until the time of Alexander. See G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, v. 1, pp. 6, 240, 421 f. Nahum Norbert Glatzer (in "A Study of the Talmudic Interpretation of Prophecy" in *The Review of Religion*, 1946, p. 136) endeavored to prove "that many of the Talmudic sayings and interpretations concerning prophecy show a polemic and apologetic attitude towards certain movements, both within and without the Jewish realm, that brought about a revival of prophecy based on the authority of biblical prophecy as well as on a free and sometimes forced interpretation of the prophetic writings."

[62] One may readily recognize the real character of the description of the future in Ezekiel, chaps. 40–48. While legal in content it appears in the form of a vision seen in an ecstatic state and explained by an

The old pre-exilic prophets had told mainly of Israel's punishment for its sins; in the exile the character of prophecy was modified, and during and after the exile apocalyptic elements began to appear. It is not Israel, but Israel's foes who are to receive divine retribution. For Israel the day of happiness and triumph will dawn quickly. With this hope the apocalyptic writers, roused to utterance by striking events of Jewish history, endeavored to stimulate their contemporaries by offering sketches of the future in which expression was given to a passionate conviction. The apocalyptic writers dwelled much on the idea of the approaching judgment, which in essence expressed the deeply rooted conviction of the Jews that, in their struggle with their enemies, God would not allow his people to perish. All this tended to strengthen the morale of the Jews, then under the yoke of the mighty heathen (Roman) empire. Patriotism could now set itself more ardently than ever to wait for the inauguration of that messianic age which, it was then believed, was destined to bring about the redemption of Israel and the overthrow of the heathen oppressors. The hopes, fears and aspirations of the period find their expression in apocalyptic writings. In this strange and fascinating literature are found reflections of those religious and political ideas which contributed to the molding of the temper of later developments in Judaism, and which either nerved men for a life-and-death struggle with the Roman power, or impelled them to seek for satisfaction in the religious, mostly messianic, trends of the day.

The Hebrew prophets often spoke of the exaltation of God, his sovereignty and that of his chosen people over the

angel. J. Wellhausen (*Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, Edinburgh, 1885, pp. 79 f. Cf. G. A. Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 425 ff.) properly declared it to be an apocalypse. This is equally true of Zechariah, in whose prophetic utterances vision and imagery play a role.

nations of the world. The prophets looked upon Zion as destined to become the metropolis of nations in which God should reign supreme. This hope was continually deferred, and Israel was constantly called upon to suffer disillusionment. During the period of the Persian and Egyptian domination the hope of Israel in its older form was in abeyance, but it sprang to vigorous life under the stress of the Hasmonean struggle. The newly awakened conviction that the purpose of God would ultimately triumph, and that Israel's religion and nationality could never perish, kindled and strengthened the courage of those who took the lead in bidding defiance to Israel's oppressors. In the study of the ancient ideals of their prophets the Jews found comfort, inspiration and strength. The brighter future which the Hebrew prophets had anticipated would be realized in a new age, "a world to come," in which the destiny of nations and men would be finally determined. The kingdom of God was to be established with all its glories. These were more and more connected with the advent of a supramundane order of things. Thus prophecies, old and new, were gradually developed into apocalyptic assurances which concerned themselves not so much with the present as with the future destiny of Israel and of the nations. The details of messianic prediction were developed, and the essentially poetical imagery of prophecy became hardened into firm conviction and belief.[63]

Some of the apocalyptic writings are cast in the form of prophecy, but prophecy of a cryptic type; they are therefore essentially revealing and prophetic. In all likelihood, they constituted, in a measure, a revival of prophecy in Judaism; they probably made their appearance as the latest type of Jewish prophetic writing. The revival of

[63] See E. Schuerer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Edinburgh, 1890, Div. II, vol. 2, pp. 134 ff.

this type of prophecy heralded the rebirth of national hopes and aspirations. It is a product of that period in the history of the Jews in which they were possessed by the ambition, actually realized in part in the Hasmonean kingdom and in the suicidal attempt of the Zealots against Rome, of becoming again an independent nation. Indeed, it is an immensely important period in Jewish history; filled with stirring events, it left a durable impress upon Jewish life and lore.

This was also, however, the period which gave rise to Christianity. And the apocalyptic writings are, in no small degree, linked with the main events of that period. For it was then that the destruction of the Temple (70 CE), took place, the Hadrianic oppression began and the Bar Kokba uprising occurred. This period included several great Jewish struggles for faith and freedom. Much inspiration and hope for the outcome of these struggles were drawn from the apocalyptic writings then current. In moments of defeat they offered consolation and a promising future. The interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and the destruction of Bethar by Hadrian is likewise of considerable significance in the history of Christianity, for the foundations of both Judaism and Christianity were then laid. It was the period which witnessed the parting of the roads between Judaism and Christianity. It is well, indeed, that the recorded events of those days, in a large measure, make possible the better understanding of the apocryphal writings, especially those of an apocalyptic character. On the other hand these writings make possible a better understanding of these events, especially of the ideas, motives and emotions that entered into them.

The apocalyptic writers helped to keep up the morale of the Jews in days of stress and strain. They endeavored to bring encouragement, with renewed and invigorating

faith, to their contemporaries living in troublous and terrible times but confidently looking forward to a miraculously divine intervention in their behalf. Imbued with deep feeling and strong faith that God would not allow the heathen to devastate his Holy City and Temple, they sought to strengthen their struggling and well-nigh fainting brethren by imparting to them something of the same faith and hope that filled their own souls. They presented episodes of the actual past showing how history developed up to their day, to the known present passing into the unknown future. It is this future which always holds in store the promise of deliverance and of a glorification. Since the ancient seer's prediction of the course of history had been fulfilled in the past time, it ought to be trusted also in reference to predictions regarding the still unknown future. That this is a moral universe under the rule of God and that the faithful followers of his teachings must, in the very nature of things, ultimately receive vindication and glorification were among their most cherished beliefs. They were convinced that a good and God-fearing people could not forever ruthlessly be trampled into the dust by its foes with impunity. It is because of this that the role the apocalyptic writers played, assumes significance. When one contrasts their expectations and the actual events that followed, it would seem that the value of their writings cannot be underestimated because of the light they cast upon the obscure and temporary revolutions in the Jewish messianic expectations of the day when they were produced.

It is not altogether surprising to find that when such prophecies and the faith they engendered led to disappointment, despair took hold of the people. The sad story of attempts at uprisings, from the days when Judas of Galilee launched his revolt following the death of Herod the Great until the time of the disaster that overtook

Bar Kokba under Hadrian, need not be rehearsed in the present connection. But mention must be made of the fact that when Judas of Galilee led an unsuccessful revolt against the Romans in the year 6 CE, and preached to the Jews that they could expect God's help only if they took the initiative, he certainly manifested an outburst of apocalyptic militancy.[64] This type of militancy was calamitous to the Jews some years later. Sixty years after the destruction of the Temple a politico-messianic movement of large proportions took place with Bar Kokba as its head. It staged a revolt against Rome. Carrying the nation with him Bar Kokba was hailed as Messiah-king by Rabbi Akiba, who applied to him the Scriptural verses: "There shall come forth a star out of Jacob and a scepter shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite through the corners of Moab," etc.[65] and "I will shake the heavens and the earth and I will overthrow the thrones of kingdoms . . ."[66] Nevertheless some of his contemporaries like Johanan ben Torta denied his messiahship.[67] After stirring up a war that taxed the power of Rome, Bar Kokba at last met his death on the walls of Bethar. His messianic movement ended in defeat and misery for the survivors. The two ghastly wars of 66–70 and 132–135 were undertaken only with the hope of God's miraculous

[64] Judas the Galilean had as his co-worker one Zadok, a Pharisee (Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII, 1). See J. Spencer Kennard, Jr., "Judas of Galilee and his Clan," in *JQR*, 1946, v. 36, pp. 281–286. The events that led to this uprising as well as to the others against the oppressive Roman rulers of Palestine are well-summarized by Robert H. Pfeiffer, in the first chapter of his admirable *A History of New Testament Times*, New York, 1949, pp. 5–45.

[65] Num. 24.17. See Yer. Ta'an. 4.7; Lam. R. to Lam. 2.2. The Testaments of XII Patriarchs proclaim the coming of a Messiah not from Judah, but from Levi. This expectation was due to the descent of the great Hasmonean family from Levi.

[66] Hag. 2.21–22. See Sanh. 97b.

[67] Yer. Ta'an. 4.4; Lam. R. to Lam. 2.2.

—i. e. apocalyptic—intervention.[68] Both wars resulted in desolation. Two such tragedies were sufficient to demonstrate the futility of apocalyptic teachings. When efforts to realize those teachings failed, apocalyptic writings lost whatever claim they may have had to a recognized position in the body of national Jewish literature. With the year 135 CE, the production of such literature suddenly came to a virtual standstill. The movement that had produced so abundant and interesting a literature over a period of about three centuries now came to an abrupt end. It was now discredited. But it left to posterity a legacy that included some of the apocalyptic writings still extant. "They are the most characteristic survival of . . . the heroic age of Jewish history, the age when the nation attempted to realize in action the part of the peculiar people of God. It ended in catastrophe . . ."[69] "In overwhelming pain at the history of their people, darkening more and more, passionately intoxicated by a hope again and again disappointed, but over again strengthened, these apocalyptists have also had dreams and visions, seen angelic figures, and heard angelic voices, and conversed with heavenly beings; they have in raptures—whether in the body, or out of the body; they could not tell—pressed forward into Paradise, into the uppermost heaven where heavenly mysteries were opened to them. Then, in the belief that now they have found the solution of the riddle they have communicated their revelations to their contemporaries."[70] Having taken up the promises and anticipations of the prophets the apocalyptic writers restated them in days of tribulation and persecution and sought

[68] For an exposition of Bar Kokba and the uprising which he led, see Samuel Yeivin, מלחמת בר־כוכבא, Jerusalem, 1946.

[69] F. C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[70] Bousset-Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 212. Quoted in A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Copenhagen, 1948, v. 1, p. 258.

to answer the question: How long will it be before the triumph arrive of Israel over the oppressors, the triumph of God over pagan rivals, of truth over falsehood? In their visions they saw good eventually triumphant, though evil now rule. They were convinced that while evil has its day good is destined to have eternity.

Judaism at that time was really in a state of flux. It is difficult to describe, with a measure of certainty, what Judaism really was at the rise of the Christian era and before the beginning of the compilation of the Talmud. R. H. Charles[71] correctly maintains "that Talmudic Judaism no less than Christianity owes its spiritual conceptions of the future to apocalyptic." It is rather significant that "it was from the apocalyptic side of Judaism that Christianity was born—and in that region of Palestine where apocalyptic and not legalism held its seat—even in Galilee."[72] The prevailing opinion among scholars is that apocalyptic literature, for the most part, flourished in Galilee, the home of the religious seers and patriots. And, it is equally significant that the apocalytic side of Judaism also shared in the ideas and teachings of those sects, such as the Pharisees and Sadducees, which played their respective role in Palestinian Jewry.[73]

At the time when some of these sects flourished the rabbis devoted their efforts almost exclusively to the development of the Oral Law, and to the fixing of a sharp line of demarcation between Israel and the rest of the world. The apocalyptic writers, on the other hand, though loyal to the Torah, did not make it their exclusive preoccupation; their writings embody definite religious ideas which in many points often conflict with some of the teachings of

[71] *Religious development between the Old and New Testaments*, p. 195.
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] See F. Rosenthal, *Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 10 f.

the rabbis. They were much more deeply interested in speculative schemes regarding the "end" of the age and in all that such schemes involved. Clinging with passionate loyalty to the God of their fathers the Jews then believed that, in their struggle to remain attached to him and to the Torah, God would, in the end, neither fail nor abandon them. This belief was so strong as often to move Jews to die rather than let the faith of their fathers be assimilated to that of others or be completely subverted. It was this that gave rise to some of the early apocalyptic writings.[74] There is good reason to assume that these writings "strongly appealed to many sensitive, tortured souls who could no longer find religious peace or reconcile the prophetic promises with the stark realism of the wretched conditions under which the Jews lived in the pre-Hasmonean period, either under the Ptolemies or Seleucids. It was out of the broodings of this deeply religious element that writings arose offering the people a retreat to heaven, a flight to the mystic unknown. They stirred them with an irrational faith in the immediacy of God's miraculous intervention in the fate of Israel."[75] Prophetic tradition and apocalyptic vision, expounded in the Synagogue and school, contributed to an atmosphere of expectancy. The apocalyptic descriptions of what "the Day of God" will bring, what the kingdom of God will be, and the then visionary portrayal of details connected with events that are destined to occur in the end of days, appealed to the many, especially to the simple folk. The vision of the apocalyptic preachers and writers went beyond past and present; it was always concerned with the ultimate. The future belonged to God. As such the only adequate language for it was apocalyptic;

[74] See Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[75] A. A. Neuman, Foreword to *The First Book of Maccabees* by S. Tedesche and S. Zeitlin, Dropsie College Edition, New York, 1950, p. X.

it gave expression to the idea of the kingdom of God transcendentally understood and to the faith that God would have the final say with men.

It is not unlikely that the disappearance of the apocalyptic writings from the national literature of the Jews was brought about by conditions not altogether within the control of the Jews. Some were probably destroyed completely in the days of the Hadrianic persecutions. Any one in Palestine then found studying Torah—the sacred writings of the Jews—was punished by death.[76] Whether or not the apocalyptic works were included among those books which Jews then regarded as Torah did not matter so much as the fact that they contained teachings offensive to the oppressor: visions of hope and the promise that ultimately the enemies of Israel would receive their just desert from the Guardian of Israel who neither sleeps nor slumbers. Such teachings gave the Jews consolation and courage; they filled them with hope for a better day—the Day of God—when they would find themselves triumphant over their enemies. They waited and looked forward to the realization of the apocalyptic visions when God and his strong armies would come to their deliverance; they hoped for divine intervention to save Jerusalem from pagan hands. To allow books containing such teachings to be circulated freely and widely among the Jews in Palestine was certainly inimical to the interest of the Roman oppressor. Forbidden books they were and their destruction was desirable if not imperative. It was ruthlessly effected. Because of the damage their teachings might have wrought

[76] In the period of the Hadrianic persecutions Jews in Palestine who indulged in the study of Torah were punished by the Romans with burning at the stake; those who practiced circumcision were killed; those who observed the Passover were crucified; the performance of the ceremony of the Lulab was punished with the scourge. See *Mekilta*, Yithro, Baḥodesh 6 (ed. Lauterbach, Philadelphia, 1933, v. 2, p. 247) and Lev. R. 32.1.

to the oppressor, it is not difficult to see his hand removing and destroying every vestige of the apocalyptic books then found in Jewish homes and schools throughout Palestine. Therefore when the persecution of the spiritual life of the Jewish Palestine ceased, and the reopening of the houses of learning was permitted, the Hebrew and Aramaic texts of the apocalyptic books were no longer available. All copies that had fallen into the hands of the Roman oppressors had already been destroyed. Such portions of their texts as are now extant owe their survival to translations into other languages, and such elements of their teachings as have continued to live within the bosom of Judaism have been transmitted orally, and ultimately found their way into the lore and literature of the rabbis. Whatever the reason, it can hardly be gainsaid that the apocalyptic writings gradually were forgotten, and thus exercised little direct influence on later Jewish thought.[77] Yet that little is there, and is worth evaluating.

The circulation of Jewish apocalyptic literature was not confined merely to the Jewish communities in Palestine. Like the Hebrew Scriptures, whether in the original languages or in translation, they found their way among Jewish groups in other lands as well. They were certainly well received by the Jews in the Hellenistic communities; they were widely circulated in Greek versions and in many instances these versions continued to live and to exert a profound influence even long after the Hebrew or Aramaic originals had utterly disappeared. Many of the apocalyptic writings were translated from Greek versions into other languages,—Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, Latin, Slavonic, Syriac, etc.,—and thus they ultimately entered the literatures of the Western, Eastern and African worlds. Directly or indirectly they exerted an influence

[77] F. C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

on writers and teachers of the Christian church, though they could not exercise any durable hold over the congregation of Israel. In these languages they were not able to find their way into the Jewish house of study, in which Hebrew and Aramaic texts were generally used.

Judaism and Hellenism

Professor Harry A. Wolfson in his brilliant study of *Philo*,[78] deals with some of the conditions of Jewish life under the influence of Hellenism. Ample evidence is available in papyri, inscriptions, etc., testifying to the existence of Jewish communities in Egypt. Philo[79] estimates that in his day his co-religionists in Egypt numbered a million, dwelling in communities scattered from the descent to Libya to the border of Ethiopia. Among those Jewish communities was that of Alexandria, which was then the most numerous, wealthy and privileged in the world. Wolfson in describing the dominant element in Alexandrian Jewry in Philo's day, points out that it "came from Palestine at a time when Judaism in its native home had already been molded by the teaching and preaching and disciplinary training of the Scribes into that particular form which ultimately gave rise to Pharisaism."[80] This "dominant element" brought to Alexandria and to other Hellenistic communities not only the Scriptural text and a knowledge of it, but also those Scriptural books, especially the apocalyptic books which, though they have found no place in the present collection of Hebrew Scriptures, were nevertheless widely known. Judaism in Palestine having, no

[78] *Philo*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947, 2 vols.

[79] In *Flaccum*, 6, *οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν οἱ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων Αἰθιοπίας.*

[80] *Op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 4.

doubt for good reason, sidestepped them, the apocalyptic writings found avid readers in the Alexandrian and in other Hellenistic Jewries.

The Scriptural collection in possession of the Jews in the Hellenistic communities included writings not part of the Hebrew Scriptures. Although not regarded as possessing a sanctity equalling that of the recognized Hebrew Scripture, "apocryphal literature signifies books which may be perused for private edification."[81] Some of them are now extant among apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books. The interest of the Hellenistic Jews in the apocalyptic writings of their Palestinian co-religionists must date from approximately the time when some books of the Hebrew Scripture were made available to them in their Greek vernacular. The Pentateuch was rendered into Greek around 250 BCE; translations of the other Scriptural and the apocryphal books, except possibly Ben Sira, followed. Eventually, before the beginning of the Christian era, they were added to the Torah.[82] It was during the very period of apocalyptic productivity that this version was made. As one Scriptural book after another was translated into Greek and made available to the Hellenistic Jews, these books strengthened the spiritual bond uniting Alexandrian Jewry with that of Palestine. Many of the religious ideas contained in the apocryphal and apocalyptic writings were used advantageously by the Jews in the Hellenistic communities in an effort to harmonize their own religious beliefs, institutions and practices with the culture and philosophical ideas of their neighbors.[83]

"Judaism in Alexandria," says Wolfson, "started upon

[81] Max L. Margolis, *Hebrew Scriptures in the Making*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 87.

[82] R. H. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[83] H. A. Wolfson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, especially the chapter on "Hellenistic Judaism," pp. 3–86.

its new career with an initial stock of oral traditions and an incipient method of scriptural interpretation, both of which it had brought from Palestine and continued to share in common with those who in Palestine subsequently became the Pharisees."[84] It was a Judaism springing from the Hasmonean Judaism which had been molded by the activities of the Scribes and which, in the process of development in the two or three centuries before the rise of the present era, assumed a character entirely its own. Not only were the books of the Bible and the oral tradition among its spiritual possessions, but also the apocalyptic writings most of which were created in Palestine.

It is not always realized that those centuries during which the Jews were in contact with the Greeks, were at least as important as any other period of Jewish history. If these centuries are not idealized as are some earlier periods in Jewish history, it is because they lacked the glamor with which earlier epochs were invested, since there is always a tendency to idealize, if not to glamorize, the remote at the expense of the immediate past.

There is good reason to assume that the Jews of the Dispersion employed the Greek language, of necessity perhaps, as their vernacular, and almost exclusively for their literary needs. The conquests of Alexander and the conscious propagation of Hellenic thought and culture made Greek the common language of the Mediterranean basin.[85]

[84] See *ibid.*, p. 56. In several of his stimulating studies (e. g. הצדוקים והפרושים in חורב, New York, 1936, v. 3, pp. 56–89; "The Pharisees and the Gospels" in *Essays and Studies in memory of Linda R. Miller*, New York, 1938, pp. 223–286 and others) Solomon Zeitlin endeavored to show that there was no such sect as the Pharisees, but that the term was used by the Sadducees as a contemptuous designation of any and all their opponents. Accordingly, Pharisees and Pharisaism as generally used, rather loosely, are synonymous with "rabbis" and "rabbinism."

[85] See A. Roberts, *Greek the language of Christ and His Apostles*,

It seems that it became a well-understood language even in Palestine,[86] and its literature was also known there. An additional impetus to knowing Greek was that it was the language of the rulers, whether Ptolemies or Seleucids. "Greek terms of civil or military administration were already fairly numerous, for the Jews had been under Greek kings and familiar with their garrisons since Alexander; while the fact that nearly all the names for popular forms of government are Greek is significant of that influence of Hellenic cities upon Jewish politics."[87] The Greek language furthermore became one of the vehicles by which Jews established and maintained intercourse with the then non-Jewish world. The Wisdom of Solomon and the writings of Philo are among the striking examples of the blending of Hebrew and Greek thought, and of their influence on the teachings of Judaism and Christianity.[88] Since the Jews in the Dispersion outnumbered those in Palestine,[89] by the rendering of the Hebrew Bible into Greek and by the much wider use of the new version than of the original text, many theological and other terms were given their distinct Jewish meaning while clothed in Greek garb. The early apocalyptic writings hence found their way from Palestine to the Jewries of the Dispersion just as the Greek Pentateuch did. It is not unlikely that such Greek versions of the original texts of

London, 1888; and his *A Short Proof that Greek was the Language of Christ,* London, 1893, pp. 31 ff.

[86] The famous warning to aliens on the *Sareg* of the Temple was in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem,* London, 1907, v. 1, p. 425.

[87] *Ibid.,* 1908, v. 2, p. 484.

[88] See H. A. Wolfson, *op. cit.,* v. 1, pp. 24 ff., and A. T. S. Goodrick, *The Book of Wisdom,* New York, 1913, pp. 399 f.

[89] For various opinions on the number of Jews in antiquity see J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul,* New York, 1943, pp. 32 f.; and C. C. McCown in *JBL,* 1947, v. 66, pp. 425–436. Cf. R. H. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.,* p. 189.

the apocalyptic works were rendered in a style resembling that of the Greek Pentateuch and, like the latter, were given their Greek garb outside Palestine.[90] "The Greek of the Alexandrian Pentateuch is Egyptian, and, as far as we can judge, not such as Palestinian translators would have written."[91]

Apocryphal books, including some apocalyptic ones, were given a place in the Greek Bible and were therefore naturally, in fact inevitably, accepted by the Christian Church as part of its sacred legacy from Judaism. As soon as the Church had ceased to be predominantly Jewish, and non-Jewish converts comprised a large and increasing majority, the result was that some books probably dropped out of sight because they were accepted by practically all Christians as a matter of course as part of the Bible, but which really were not part of the Hebrew collection of Scriptures. This fact may have been for Europe an almost new discovery, when Jerome called attention to it a little before the close of the fourth century. He came to regard all Scriptures not found in the Hebrew Bible, and therefore also all those texts in the Greek Bible which were not represented in the Hebrew Scriptures as "apocryphal," without necessarily employing the term in an opprobrious sense.[92] The failure of the apocryphal books to find a place in the collection of Hebrew Scriptures was in no way connected with the question of their intrinsically religious value.

[90] See Moses Hadas' illuminating Introduction to *Aristeas to Philocrates* (*Letter of Aristeas*), Dropsie College Edition, New York, 1951.

[91] H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 20.

[92] See W. O. E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*, New York, 1935, pp. 126 f., cf. S. Zeitlin, "Jewish Apocryphal Literature" in *JQR*, 1950, v. 40, pp. 223–250.

Apocalyptic Writings and Christianity

At an early date, teachings from apocalyptic writings began to make their way into the lore of Christianity. In fact Christianity appropriated many of them and, without giving them canonical authority, drew upon them for proof and support of its hopes and teachings. Many early Jewish eschatological ideas such as the world of angels, the messianic judgment and future life—ideas neither found nor elaborated in the Hebrew Scriptures—are taken over in the New Testament from early Jewish apocalyptic writings. It should be noted, however, that for the most part Christian writers were content to interpret and sometimes to "revise" Jewish apocalyptic writings. This practice had the apologetic advantage of affirming the support of ancient Jewish patriarchs and prophets for the teachings of the new faith.[93]

R. H. Charles has pointed out[94] that apocalyptic literature "strove to show that, in respect alike of the nation and of the individual, the righteousness of God would be fully vindicated; and, in order to justify its contention, it sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil and its course, and the final consummation of all things." Virtually all of the early apocalyptic writings occupy themselves with the end of the age and the dawn of a new age, as well as with the destiny of the righteous and the ungodly. They all manifest a certain recurrence of ideas. They build freely on the basis of ideas culled from the Scriptures or from one another, but the structure

[93] The most significant Christian apocalypse is the Book of Revelation in the New Testament. Some scholars regard it as a Jewish apocalypse in a Christian revision. No doubt, it draws largely upon Jewish traditions. Like the Jewish apocalyptic writings, it is concerned with the course of world history.

[94] In *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, I, 214.

which each one rears has a character entirely its own. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in 70 CE, the apocalyptic writers—especially the authors of the Apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch, whose works belong to the latest of the great apocalyptic writings—adapting the traditional material and method to the new situation, discuss with the *angelus interpres* the burning question how the goodness or the justice of God can be reconciled, not merely with the ruin that has fallen on the Jews, but with the anticipated damnation of the great mass of mankind.[95] To comprehend this point it is essential that these apocalyptic writings be read with the eyes of the historian, preferably from the point of view of the Palestinian Jews of the first century CE; only such a reading makes it possible intelligently to grasp, in some degree, what the apocalyptic teachings of that day meant to them. Jewish eschatological teachings thus seem to have been matters of immediate concern to them. They did not look to a remote day for the realization of these teachings. Growing excitement and rising despair of the present order furnished the urge to look for the realization of the promise of miraculous deliverance for the righteous and of a new era of power and splendor for a regenerate Israel. Naturally in such a day the belief in the advent of a messiah heralding "the end of days" was widespread. The apocalyptic writings in which this belief is proclaimed were very popular, and began to make inroads into Judaism, its votaries drew upon them for support in their claims for the messianic character of Jesus of Nazareth.

[95] In his study entitled *Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akiba's* (Leipzig, 1885) Dr. F. Rosenthal endeavored to show that theodicy forms the basic idea around which revolve the teachings of several apocalyptic books (The Assumption of Moses, The Apocalypse of Ezra, The Apocalypse of Baruch, and Tobit) which he discusses.

Burkitt[96] has correctly pointed out that the fundamental idea which underlies the great series of apocalyptic writings is the idea of the imminent Judgment to Come. In their implicit faith in the immediate realization of the eschatological teachings of their day, they demonstrated that "an eschatology is not to be judged by a simple rule of agreement with facts, but rather by its fitness under the circumstances to quicken faith in God, to stir the conscience and put men's wills under the dominance of ideal motives, to give a living sense of God and eternity."[97] The Palestinian Jews of that day looked forward to the events leading to the speedy, if not immediate, realization of the prophetic promises of redemption. They speculated on the role of God in history.[98] The minds of many devout and loyal individuals were turned towards eschatological hopes and speculations expressive of a faith that needs to see the hand of God in the world. Theirs was a dream of a vindication of Right against Might, a vision of the coming light in the time of darkness. Such a vision brings God near to the earth as a formidable judge whose appearance shall consume the wicked and cause the heart of the righteous to rejoice.

One profits most who reads the apocalyptic writings "in a historical spirit, as tracts for their times, disclosing the inner life of their circle and age, and interpreted by current conditions and poetry, through which, though the form is often grotesque, one can still feel the pulsations of a true faith in God and in the blessed life to come.

[96] *Op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.

[97] See F. C. Porter, *The Message of the apocalyptical Writers*, New York, 1905, p. 73.

[98] See H. Zotenberg, "Geschichte Daniels" in A. Merx, *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des alten Testamentes*, Halle, 1869, v. 1, p. 423. Cf. A. Marmorstein in מצודה, London, 1943, v. 1, p. 100. The Apocalypses of Baruch (ch. 29) and Apocalypse of Ezra (ch. 6) reviewed the events connected with creation.

The historian has no fault to find with such a free poetic reading of the apocalypses as this. Such reading is fundamentally in accord with the essential, even if unconscious, nature of the books."[99] The apocalyptic works should be studied in the spirit in which they were conceived and for the purpose for which they were written. The questions of authorship and the exact extent to which the ideas they contained were countenanced are clouded in darkness. It is certain, however, that they were widely entertained. Apocalyptic conceptions also found a prominent place in the teachings of leading rabbis who have contributed to the making of Judaism a system of religious thought.

Character of Authorship

Virtually all the apocalyptic works were put forth in the name of patriarchs or prophets and of other familiar scriptural characters. This device was probably used in order to enhance the authority of the apocalyptic writings, the authors of which came easily to the fancy that those old Scriptural figures had visions such as they recorded.[100] The presentation of those visions in the name of one or another of the great of antiquity was made in perfect honesty and out of a conviction that such was the will of the great spirit. The apocalyptic writers ascribed to it all their own

[99] F. C. Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 f.

[100] R. H. Charles (*A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, pp. 176 f.) pointed out how the term "vision" came to have a like conventional use both in prophetic and apocalyptic writings. It seems that both the prophetic and the apocalyptic writers employed the same methods and devices in their efforts to learn the will of God. This does not imply that apocalypse is wholly identifiable with vision as has been suggested by H. Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, etc., Göttingen, 1921, pp. 186–190). By maintaining that vision can never deal with the present or the past, Gunkel implies that apocalyptic cannot do so either. That this is not so has been completely demonstrated by Charles (*op. cit.*, pp. 182 f.).

subjective dreams, thoughts and opinions as well as the events going on around them. They employed the veil of symbol and allegory, as these had been used in vision ages before.[101] Burkitt[102] has well pointed out that the names of the various apocalyptic books were not chosen out of mere caprice; they indicated to a certain extent the subject to be treated and the point of view of the writer. Whether or not this is so is not as important as the fact that in many ways the books of the Apocrypha, including the apocalyptic writings, contain a goodly measure of material which considerably supplements the biblical narrative in various ways. They present parallels and analogues to the role of men and events familiar from the Hebrew Scriptures. This supplementation is equally notable in portions of the Talmud and Midrash which likewise add information on what Hebrew Scripture tells of men and events in early history.[103] Apparently the authors of these rabbinical "supplements" to the Scriptural record simply followed a practice familiar to them from early apocalyptic lore. That they have all contributed to the enrichment of our knowledge and comprehension of antiquity goes without saying. That they have yielded a rich and fascinating understanding of the play of Jewish imaginative powers on Scriptural events and personalities who held our ancestors spell-bound

[101] See J. Z. Lauterbach, *Midrash and Mishnah*; a study in the early history of the Halakah, New York, 1916 and his "The ancient Jewish allegorists in Talmud and Midrash" in *JQR*, 1910–11, n. s., v. 1, pp. 291–333 and 503–531. Cf. David Neumark, "Dorsche Reschumoth und Dorsche Hamuroth" in *Festschrift Professor Dr. Maybaum*, Berlin, 1914, pp. 179–190 and in מקלט, New York, 1920, v. 1, pp. 209–223. See also Asher Feldman, *The Parables and Similes of the Rabbis*, Cambridge, 1924, pp. 3 f.

[102] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

[103] See S. Funk, *Die Entstehung des Talmuds*, Berlin, 1919, pp. 5 ff., and Ben Zion Bokser, *The Wisdom of the Talmud*, New York, 1951, p. 1 ff.

is demonstrated extensively and admirably in such works as Louis Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, Micha Joseph Berdyczewski's *Born Judas* and others.

It must be remembered that in the days of the apocalyptic writers as in earlier days there was no distinction between fiction and history. People cared little about the true authorship of a work, provided the appearance of age was given, such writings were adopted as vehicles for the transmission of ideas and hopes. Spurious literature was a practice of the time, similar in design and conception to the historical and religious novel of our day, by which the doctrines of a later epoch are put into the mouths of historical characters, not so much with a view to deceiving the reader as with the hope of winning a greater acceptance for these views by the seductive association. Such literature has an influence when the ideas to which it seeks to give authority are in accord with the demands of the people. To this extent such work more certainly reflects popular opinion than do the formal writings that acquired authoritative standing in Jewish life. On the other hand it need not be assumed that their philosophy of history was pessimistic. To a certain degree they spread faith in progress. The apocalyptic writers were too perspicacious, too good historians to consider that what had been attained was achieved for all time. Yet to them their writings were not fiction at all; they endeavored to present descriptions of events that happened and that will happen accompanied by imaginative meanings and interpretations cementing the blocks of reality together. In this they followed an already familiar practice. Much of the writing of exilic and post-exilic times was anonymous, as in the case of the prophet referred to as Deutero-Isaiah; the authors of some of the psalms and oracles embedded in various prophetic books are unknown. The apocalyptic

writers, not content with remaining anonymous, adopted the device of pseudonymity. In so doing they were not merely following a recognized literary convention corresponding with the modern *nom de plume*; they sought to give their message weight by putting it in the mouth of some by-gone figure whose words would carry authority.

The Hellenistic Jews, too, resorted to the use of the same device. In their endeavor to make propaganda for Judaism they wrote in the name of pagan authorities, works in which they advocated and defended Jewish teachings. They "circulated publications in which leaders of Greek civilization, Sophocles or Orpheus, proclaimed the monotheistic faith, quoted Scripture, glorified the Sabbath and repeated injunctions not to eat any flesh with blood."[104] These works found their way into the circle of pagan readers. Among the many items of this class are the Sibylline Books, which are distinguished by a loftiness of purpose. The ancient Sibyl was made to address the pagans in Greek hexameters on matters distinctly Jewish.[105]

The Delphic Oracle, said Heraclitus, "neither reveals nor conceals, but indicates." Such has always been the case with works of fiction of the first rank; each rereading reveals new depths alike of meaning grasped and of meaning still unrealized—so that the richer one grows in knowledge of them the less ready one is to believe that they are understood fully. Their answers to one's questions grow more enigmatic as they grow more profound, but somehow the riddles are more nearly satisfying than plain answers could be. It is the nature of art to be suggestive and indirect, for it appeals not to the understanding but to the im-

[104] E. Bickerman, in *The Jews*, ed. by Louis Finkelstein, Philadelphia, 1949, p. 110. See also Martin Braun, *History and romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*, Oxford, 1938.

[105] On the Sibylline Oracles see R. H. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 226–230.

agination. To a certain degree this holds true of some of the Hellenistic and of the Jewish apocalyptic works. Indeed their authors were literary artists at least for their generation. Pseudonymity was then, as it is now not an uncommon literary device and the Jewish apocalyptic writers availed themselves of it. This statement does not presuppose "that pseudonymity is integral to apocalyptic." It is not. H. H. Rowley[106] correctly pointed out that such an assumption would "ignore the fact that the first half of the Book of Daniel is not pseudonymous, but anonymous." According to R. H. Charles,[107] "apocalyptic was, with the exception of Joel, always pseudonymous or anonymous in Judaism" down to 130 CE. There was, however, one feature of the times which in a sense forced these apocalyptic writers to conceal their authorship. This is well described by Hermann Gunkel.[108] There arose then, as in all times, a tendency to exalt some traditionally important persons of antiquity and to glorify certain names, usually those of various ancient worthies in Israel prior to the time of Ezra, like Abraham, Adam, Baruch, Daniel, David, Enoch, Ezra, Isaiah, Job, Moses, Noah, etc. It was difficult for any new writer, even one who had great ability, to command a hearing. A writer eager to express his views would therefore proclaim that they had really originated long ago in the minds of some great Jew. He would therefore not hesitate to attribute his writings to any one whose name he cherished reverently. He would perhaps even firmly believe that in following this course he was merely conforming to instruction given him by the divine-guiding spirit, and that he therefore himself was most naturally worthy and righteous. Writing under the name of some great figure of antiquity he would thus transport himself in

[106] *Op. cit.*, p. 38.
[107] *Op. cit.*, p. 191.
[108] See his *op. cit.*, pp. 186 ff.

imagination to the alleged writer's time, and make him see in vision that which has come to pass. Such visions simply clothe history in the form of prediction till they reach the time of the real author. Then they change their tone and set forth the expectation of divine interference in the history of the world, for the apocalyptic writers, as has been said, looked for the consummation of all things in the immediate future. Another reason for such a practice was to establish a close connection between the Scriptural books and the creations of the apocalyptic writers, to gain for the latter a firm basis and to secure for them a long term of life and influence.

Sects and the Apocalyptic Writings

As has been stated at the outset of this study, apocalyptic writings comprise a *popular* literature in which some of the thoughts of certain religious circles in early Jewry are reflected. Several outstanding literary sources belonging to the first two or three Christian centuries, viz., Philo, Josephus and some older portions of the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud, as well as certain midrashic texts, contain stray allusions couched in varying phraseology to certain sects or parties who presumably were in possession of apocalyptic teachings not shared by Jewry at large.[109] Of course apocalyptic works were not written in a vacuum. The views they transmit on a variety of questions touching the fate of humanity and the destiny of Israel are in some way often reflective of the social and political climate of

[109] There is good reason to assume that important elements of Jewish apocalyptic teachings were kept alive in small circles. Several of the disciples of Johanan ben Zakkai, about the turn of the first century CE, occupied themselves with some of these teachings. Certainly the rabbis who, at the end of the talmudic period, attempted a synthesis of their new religious teachings, did not hesitate to draw upon available apocalyptic resources.

Palestinian Jewry, particularly in the centuries immediately preceding the rise of the Christian era.

The notion that the apocalyptic writings were distributed in secret circles (among the so-called צנועים and חשאים) does not seem to be well-founded. It rests largely on the assumption that the writings were in possession of the Essenes and were jealously guarded by them against disclosure.[110] Moreover, according to Philo[111] a hoary antiquity was claimed for them. Unquestionably the Essenes were influenced by Hellenistic ideas, which were derived from that development of the Greek spirit which, in some ways, was akin to Hebraism. According to Josephus[112] they had secret books of their own. But no one knows now what books the Essenes guarded. Nor is it possible to demonstrate with any measure of reasonableness that the books in the hands of the Essenes were the early apocalyptic writings. No extant work can be definitely attributed to the Essenes; some have ascribed to them the Book of Jubilees, others the Testament of Job, still others the greater part of the apocalyptic literature; but all this is guess-work. It is more likely that the Essenes possessed books that contained the principles of their beliefs and regulations for their conduct, works which they kept from finding their way into the hands of those not in their own ranks.

In contrast, apocalyptic works in Jewish literature seem to have been numerous and their circulation in Palestine quite widespread. The ideas they conveyed were frequently discussed in various quarters. In the Synagogue and school

[110] The meaning of their name is still uncertain. See Josephus, *Jewish Wars* II, 8 § 7; cf. Kaufmann Kohler, *JE*, III, 457 and Emil Schuerer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4, II, 651 ff.

[111] *De Vita Contemplativa*, III and Hippolytus, *Refutation of all Heresies*, 9.27.

[112] *Ant.* XVIII, 2.1 and *Jewish Wars* II, 8 § 5.

they were taught and expounded by preacher and teacher, and the influence they exerted upon the masses was quite significant.[113] With the help of these ideas the rabbis were able to strengthen the faith of the Jews in the God of their fathers in time of great trial. By the application of their teachings to current realities the apocalyptic writers gave to their generation not so much a sense of security as, what is more important, a sense of continuity with the past and hope in the future. A literature confined to the few teachings carried on secretively could not possibly have accomplished such an objective and could not have played so effective a role as have the apocalyptic writings in the life of the Jews.

If the statement in the Apocalypse of Ezra (14.45–46) in which Ezra is told to publish twenty-four books (presumably those of the Hebrew Bible) and to hide the seventy other books in order to "deliver them only to such as be wise" can be accepted as accurate, it surely offers testimony to the existence, at an early date, of a large number of apocalyptic works. Of what was once a rich widespread and effective literature only a small portion is now extant. While many an early apocalyptic work has disappeared completely, fragmentary reproductions of others, if not in the familiar apocalyptic form at least of the normal apocalyptic content, survive not only in the writings of the Church Fathers but also in the early writings of the rabbis and of the kabbalists. Figures familiar from the tannaitic period play a role in them; they occupy the place held by the biblical protoplasts, patriarchs and scribes whose names reappear in the apocalyptical writings now extant.

[113] That Ben Sira was drawn upon for appropriate texts by preachers is known from testimony to this effect in Mishna Ta'an. 2.1; Hag. 3a; Sanh. 100b. See L. Zunz, הדרשות בישראל, ed. Albeck, Jerusalem, 1948, p. 49.

Many of these writings contain interpolations decidedly Christian in character. This Christian flavor is not altogether surprising since they were accepted and mothered by the Christian Church while allowed to fall in disuse among the Jews. "Among the Christians, on the other hand, they were long current, and Christian Apocalypses . . . were composed in imitation of them."[114] This and other cogent reasons are sufficient to urge the application of utmost caution to the use of the early apocalyptic writings for the interpretation of Jewish teachings. In the form in which they are now extant, "nearly all of them are embellished with Christian interpolations, and in some cases the inserted portions have choked the original form so completely that it is impossible to determine at first sight whether a Jewish or a Christian legend is under examination."[115] In the circumstances one must readily admit that material from this literature drawn upon for the understanding of the history, teachings and practices of Judaism cannot always be used advantageously unless the Jewish character of a text be established beyond cavil of doubt. It has long ago been recognized that some portions of the apocalyptic literature had acquired spiritual and other value by virtue of the use to which they were subjected even long after the passing of the conditions which inspired their authorship. They were then adapted for advantageous use in new times and under new conditions. To make them conform to the new needs, not infrequently, such adaptations required changes in their texts resulting in a considerable amount of revisions. Examples of such revisions abound in Christian interpolations in various texts of the extant apocalyptic writings and in such passages derived from them as have subse-

[114] F. C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[115] Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, v. 1, Preface, p. XII f.

quently found their way into kabbalistic and mediaeval Jewish texts.

While the actual writings of the early rabbis as they have come down to us contain relatively little of a characteristically apocalyptic nature there can hardly be any doubt that, in some measure, Jewish apocalyptic ideas found their way into early rabbinic lore and exerted a profound influence on the development of Judaism. No literary relationship can be established between the now extant early apocalyptic texts and their rabbinic parallels, but many conceptions and teachings are common to both; no doubt, they all spring from a common source. Many of the early apocalyptic teachings play a considerable part in the later Midrashim and especially in the so-called neo-Hebraic apocalyptic works, which date from the seventh century;[116] a much larger part, indeed, than is allotted to it in the earlier haggadic lore. The permanent influence of apocalyptic ideas on Jewish tradition lies in the eschatological notions which are usually not too prominent in the earlier collections of rabbinic lore. This is rather significant, considering the fact that the apocalyptic portions of the Hebrew Bible had little to do with eschatology, as compared to those of a later day. Eschatology, it is true, presents a difficult subject in Jewish theology. "What exact relation the terms 'the world to come', 'the kingdom of Heaven', and 'the days of the Messiah' bear to one another, in what order they follow, and in what place they shall be experienced, are all questions which have been variously disputed by Jewish scholars without

[116] See M. Buttenwieser, *Outline of the Neo-Hebraic Apocalyptic Literature*, Cincinnati, 1901. The apocalyptic material in the so-called Zadokite Fragments does not fall within the purview of the present study since those fragments represent a work of the Middle Ages. At best it has something in common with the so-called Neo-Hebraic apocalyptic works. See Solomon Zeitlin, *The Zadokite Fragments*, Philadelphia, 1952.

any very satisfactory results having as yet been obtained. But it is clear that they are precisely those points on which individual Rabbis gave rein to their fantasy, and where one can least hope to deduce a rational or connected system."[117] This is clearly a frank admission, by Solomon Schechter, a great authority on rabbinical theology, of the inadequacy of the material available in rabbinic sources for theological purposes. In the circumstances it is quite obvious that as long as scholars occupy themselves with the task of developing a system of Jewish eschatology built upon the use of rabbinic texts alone and without the aid of the tantalizing apocalyptic writings, their efforts will not always prove sufficiently rewarding. While most of the pertinent rabbinical texts now extant were produced largely during the years of greatest apocalyptic speculation in Judaism, they are insufficient for the treatment of the subject. They need to be supplemented with other texts derived from sources known to have come down from the same period and place which gave rise to the rabbinical texts. Without the use of materials drawn from the apocalyptic writings no satisfactory presentation of Jewish eschatological ideas historically developed can possibly be expected.

"The Doctrine of the Last Things"

The apocalyptic writings embody a large portion of the Jewish eschatological teachings dealing with "the doctrine of the last things"[118] i. e., the secrets of the place and time of the retribution and the future redemption. They also include such subjects as judgment, the messianic

[117] S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, Series III, Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 184 f.

[118] R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 128. Cf. Max L. Margolis, *The Theological Aspect of Reformed Judaism*, Baltimore, 1904, pp. 68 ff.

kingdom, the resurrection etc. While their character varied from age to age they have their roots in the Jewish heritage. The stress of the place of the righteous in the eschatological scheme is directly derived from the Hebrew Bible. It is given considerable amplification in the apocalyptic writings. Professor George Foot Moore has shown that the eschatological scheme of the Apocalypses of Baruch and of Ezra "is the same which through the Tannaim became the standard conception of Judaism" and that "these apocalypses are closely related to . . . the rabbinical sources. The authors had the learning of the Schools,"[119] i. e., they had some relation to their contemporary rabbis. It should be observed, however, that while in general the rabbis envisaged the eschatological future in non-apocalyptic terms, they sometimes reproduced almost in identical language apocalyptic discussions of eschatological events. Theirs is, as a rule, a transcendental kind of eschatology much of which is of necessity derived from the apocalyptic writings. Such eschatological beliefs as they set forth are linked, in no uncertain terms, to the destiny of their people and to their traditions as to origins and as to what is to occur in the unknown future.

In his exhaustive study of Jewish eschatology[120] Paul Volz has convincingly shown that the true root of its value was in the hearts of the pious among the Jews, and that its object was to sustain them in their fidelity to their God. "The apocalyptists took themselves and their fellow Jews to the heights of the Beyond and of the outlook upon the future in order that they should not cease to battle for the faith or that at least they might forget the melancholy

[119] *Judaism*, v. 2, p. 285.

[120] *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur dargestellt* von Paul Volz, Tübingen, 1934.

present."[121] Their teachings as to the value of suffering and of loss encouraged heroic ventures.[122]

The apocalyptic writings, it should be noted, can enrich our knowledge of Jewish theology. When Schechter warns against the use of kabbalistic or semi-kabbalistic works "in an attempt to sketch out a Talmud theology", he has a valid and convincing reason for doing so. "Whatever the exact epoch to which they [the kabbalistic works] belong they are at all events posterior to the completed Talmud."[123] This is certainly not the case with the early apocalyptic writings. Every one of these writings now extant, in whole or in part, is a product of an era antedating the writing of the early classical texts in rabbinical literature—the Talmud and the Midrash. One is therefore amazed to find that in spite of this fact, George F. Moore, who by the way was strongly influenced by Schechter, does not hesitate to assert that "it is a fallacy of method for the historian to make them [the apocalyptic books] a primary source for the eschatology of Judaism, much more to contaminate its theology with them."[124] In other words, Moore would confine the historian to the exclusive use of rabbinic sources, the exact date of which can not always be established with any measure of certainty, for the study of post-biblical eschatological ideas in Judaism. Such a position does not seem to take into consideration the fact that rabbinic sources rarely go back to a day earlier than 135 BCE. In fact the bulk of rabbinic writing now extant is of a time later than the fourth century. It is with extreme

[121] ". . . die Apokalyptiker führen sich und ihre Volksgenossen in die Höhen des Jenseits und der Zukunftsschau, dass sie nicht aufhören, für den Glauben zu kämpfen, oder damit sie doch die traurige Gegenwart vergessen." *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[122] See *ibid.*, pp. 121–134.

[123] *Op. cit.*, pp. 292 f.

[124] *Judaism*, v. 1, p. 127.

rarity, indeed, that they carry the reader into the period when the Temple was still standing. In these circumstances the historian, by following Moore's suggestion, would deprive himself of the use of a rich storehouse of early Jewish eschatological ideas not altogether without merit and surely not without promise. For, like the Bible, the extant apocalyptic writings represent a vast congeries of literatures setting forth a considerable variety of religious concepts. While these have very few central tenets in common, they present an abundant supply of eschatological ideas. Even though they may not be considered a primary source of Jewish eschatological teachings, and not a few of those teachings spring directly from them, they nevertheless constitute an indispensable collateral source without which no complete presentation of the eschatology of Judaism in all its developments is possible. These eschatological teachings find expression occasionally in midrashic texts through some fancy and about events and manifestations destined to occur in the end of days; and occasionally in the Talmud itself, especially in some of its haggadic portions.[125] Solomon Schechter,[126] in his characteristic way, once pointed out that according to the rabbis Judaism, believing in a personal God has always held the belief that God is provided by fancy and imagination with some local habitation. These are exactly what the apocalyptic writers offered. They furnished a background of "fancy and imagination."

How and to what extent the early apocalyptic writings influenced the haggadah and especially its eschatological teachings is a subject which is still awaiting exhaustive exploration. There can hardly be any doubt that not a few of the controversies in the schools of the Tannaim revolved

[125] See Judah Kaufman, מדרשי גאלה, Tel Aviv, 1943, pp. 1 ff.
[126] See his *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. 30.

around ideas and opinions which were repeatedly expressed in the apocalyptic works of their day or of that of an earlier day; they are frequently reiterated in the teachings of the sages that followed them. There is sufficient evidence to show that the spirit of the apocalyptic writers hovered over the sages and scholars even in the days of the Amoraim, and in fact, even in later days. For the literature in which the haggadah is embodied i. e., the haggadic-midrashic works, is of vast extent and its production in literary form covers a considerable period of time. This midrashic literature may be said to have flourished from the second to the tenth centuries of the present era. But the beginnings of the haggadah go back to a much earlier period. Like all folk-lore its origin lies in oral tradition. Much material of this kind is contained in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature, and often it can be found even in the works of Josephus and of Philo. It is from such sources that the men who compiled the Talmud and the Midrash brought together apocalyptic teachings of different sages presented on various occasions, but linked together by the hand of an editor.

While apocalyptic writings undeniably constituted a definite element in the Judaism of their time, it was not so large an element as is present in the writings of the rabbis. Indeed, it is in the latter that the real vitality and strength of Judaism rests. It is true, indeed, that in the early rabbinical (Pharisaic) works there is no mention of apocalyptic writings; yet it cannot be gainsaid that a certain amount of apocalyptic matter is found in them. Whether important or not for Judaism, this element entrenched itself in Jewish lore and religious teachings. Although the written texts of Jewish apocalyptic ideas and teachings were neglected and allowed to fall into desuetude, the apocalyptic tradition endured; it entered the religious thought of the people and gradually affected

the continued Jewish search for knowledge of the unknown; and it certainly influenced the religious cosmogony and the theology of rabbinic Judaism. Indeed, the undercurrent of apocalyptic thought is apparent in much of mediaeval Jewish theology and kabbalistic teachings. It is especially noteworthy to find that apocalyptic passages abound in many portions of Jewish liturgical texts. Poetic expressions, often of great beauty and power but apocalyptic in character, are scattered in Jewish hymnody and are well entrenched in the old liturgy of the Synagogue.

The Kingdom of God

It has long been recognized that Jewish liturgy is a better exponent of the actual religious feelings of the people than is offered in all the discussions of the rabbis, theological and otherwise. It is in this liturgy that one finds a short prayer, apocalyptic in character, which was and still is recited on one of the most solemn days in the Jewish religious calendar, the New Year:

> "Our God and God of our fathers, reign thou in thy glory over the whole universe, and be exalted above all the earth in thine honor and shine forth in the splendor and excellence of thy might upon all the inhabitants of thy world, that whatsoever has been made may know that thou hast made it, and whatsoever hath been created may understand that thou hast created it, and whatsoever hath breath in its nostrils may say, The Lord God of Israel is King, and his dominion ruleth over all."[127]

[127] אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו מלוך על כל־העולם כלו בכבודך. והנשא על כל־הארץ ביקרך. והופע בהדר גאון עוך על כל־יושבי תבל ארצך. וידע כל־פעול כי אתה פעלתו ויבין כל־יצור כי אתה יצרתו ויאמר כל אשר נשמה באפו יי אלהי ישראל מלך ומלכותו בכל משלה. On the universalistic conception of the kingdom of God as expressed in this prayer, see G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, v. 1, p. 434, note 2 and v. 3, p. 132. Though the apocalyptic writers attributed

This prayer very tersely sums up the aspirations and hopes expressed in the early apocalyptic writings. In simple but effective phrases it speaks of God's universal sovereignty over man and nature and of the coming messianic time with all its implications.

The ultimate reign of God as the King of the universe, an idea which pervades the entire Jewish apocalyptic lore and literature, is the *Leitmotif* of all the prayers and meditations of the Day of the New Year and of the Day of Atonement. From it flow the various eschatological teachings which are so emphatically expressed in the sentiments and services of those days. Rabbi Akiba is quoted[128] as having said: "On New Year's Day the threefold prayer should be recited, the first extolling God as King 'Malkiot'; the second imploring God's remembrance for the good of man, 'Zikronot'; and the third 'Shofarot' referring to the trumpet's blasts. For on New Year's Day all men are judged; and the decree is sealed on the Day of Atonement."

The first of the threefold prayer, Malkiot, consists of ten passages from the Bible—three from the Pentateuch,

considerable importance to the idea of the kingdom of God, it was not new with them. References to God as King are not lacking in Scripture (see e. g. I Sam. 12.12; Isa. 33.22 and Ps. 74.12), but in the days of the apocalyptic writers it played a significant role in eschatological speculation, and the liturgy of the Synagogue took appropriate cognizance of it. It was then, too, that the Shema' came to be regarded not merely as a profession of faith, but also as a declaration of the "allegiance to the kingdom of Heaven," and that the passage ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד was attached to it. (See Sifre, Deut. 31, ed. Friedmann 72b note. Cf. Louis Finkelstein in *JQR*, 1925, v. 16, p. 17.) According to the Palestinian rite, this prayer was used not only on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, but on all festivals. See I. Elbogen in *MGWJ*, 1911, v. 55, p. 437 and L. Finkelstein in *JQR*, 1925, v. 16, pp. 7 f.

[128] Tosefta R. H. 1.11–13. The earliest mention of the recitation of these benedictions is in the Mishna R. H. 4.5. For a discussion of these and other early references to the benedictions see Norman H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival*, London, 1947, p. 182 ff.

three from the Psalms, three from the prophets, and the Shema'—all of which speak of God as king. They are followed by a prayer for the establishment of God's kingdom upon earth. The second section, Zikronot, begins with an apostrophe to God sitting in judgment over all his creatures and "remembering" their deeds. It includes selections from the Bible in which God is referred to as "remembering" his creatures. It concludes with a prayer that God will remember his people favorably on that day and count for them the sacrifice of Isaac. The third portion, Shofarot, begins with a description of revelation at Sinai and includes Scriptural passages in which "Shofar" is mentioned. It concludes with a prayer for the gathering of the exiles to the Holy Land and for the rebuilding of the Temple, when the trumpets will be blown at the offering of sacrifices on all holy days.[129]

Such expressions for example, as "Be not wroth with us, but spare thy people, and have mercy upon thine own inheritance: for thou art merciful unto thy creature" (Apocalypse of Ezra 8.45) or "O Lord, thou art just, and all thy works and all thy ways are mercy and truth, and thou judgest truly and justly for ever. Remember me, and look on me, punish me not for my sins and ignorances and the sins of my fathers, who have sinned before thee" (Tobit 3.2–3) and others have their many counterparts in the meditations and propitiatory prayers scattered in the rich liturgical literature of the Jews. The Scriptural con-

[129] During the "repetition" of the prayers, the Shofar is sounded at the end of each of the three benedictions (R. H. 32a f.; Maimonides, *Yad*, Shofar 3,7–10 and *Orah Hayyim*, 591,2). Louis Ginzberg's suggestion that these benedictions were probably inserted in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy in the days of the early Tannaim, especially in the time of Rabbi Akiba, is followed by Dr. Louis Finkelstein, *JQR*, 1925, v. 16, pp. 17 ff.; *REJ*, 1932, v. 93, p. 12. See L. Ginzberg, *REJ*, 1934, v. 98, p. 78. Cf. Sh. Spiegel in *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume*, New York, 1950, Hebrew Section, p. 516.

ception of God as the father of mankind is also found in the apocalyptic writings. Both the Synagogue and Church employ the Father-name of God as true title of God. It is used in liturgical addresses to God. As a replacement of God's name its use goes back to apocalyptic writings.[130] Indeed the remarkable influence of apocalyptic ideas on the development of the Synagogue worship is apparent in the liturgical poetry of the Jews. The *Kedushah* hymns, for example, incorporate ideas derived from the Book of Enoch and other related works.[131] From the same writings also come some of the excellent eschatological expressions which abound in the liturgy of the Synagogue. Yes, that liturgy echoes many of the sentiments of the apocalyptic writers. The fact that many of the apocalyptic ideas are mirrored in early Jewish teachings which have found their way, even to our own day, in the Jewish liturgy and religious lore is significant. It certainly does not attest to the view that rabbinic Judaism ignored the early apocalyptic writings which, while they have not been given a firm place in the *faith* of the Jews, do belong to the national literature of the Jewish people. By their very nature they were never claimed by the many; they were intended for the few.

Angelology and Demonology

"Overestimating the value of the apocalyptic literature as a source for the main current of the religious life of the Jew at the time of the rise of Christianity," Professor

[130] See, e. g., Testament of Judah 24.2. For a like use in the New Testament see Matt. 6.4 and elsewhere. Cf. H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*, Munich, 1922, v. 1, p. 392.

[131] The *Yozarot* such as those for *Shabbat Shekalim* betray a considerable indebtedness to early apocalyptic ideas.

Ginzberg warns with good reason, "is fraught with serious consequences for the proper understanding of the problem. In a history of the Jewish religion based upon the study of rabbinic sources, angelology and demonology would hardly play any important part at all, — certainly not that part which is ascribed to them by those who see in apocalyptic Judaism the religion of Israel in the time of Jesus."[132]

It is true indeed that angelology and demonology play a very subordinate role in normative Judaism, the system of prescribed Jewish religious belief and practice as outlined in the Mishna and in the literature based upon it. There is no convincing proof tending to sustain the suggestion that while these teachings, which ultimately found their way into the Mishna, were in the making, there was a corresponding decline in the apocalyptic doctrines that had held sway for several centuries. On the contrary, so strong was the influence of these doctrines that some of them could not altogether be kept out even of the Mishna. Thus Judah ha-Nasi, well-known for his opposition to apocalyptic and esoteric teachings who as compiler of the Mishna admitted into its text no references to angels or angelology, was nevertheless unable to prevent a "little rabbinic apocalypse" (Sota 9.15) from finding its way into the text of the Mishna. So well entrenched were the messianic and eschatological beliefs in the days of the Mishna that, instead of ignoring them as one would naturally have expected from so strong a rationalist as he was, Judah ha-Nasi took full cognizance of them by giving them a place in the Mishna. It is also true that after the New Testament was completed the apocalyptic writers found themselves no longer in the main stream of Jewish religious development, but the ideas they engendered in the

[132] See his *Students, Scholars and Saints*, Philadelphia, 1928, p. 101.

Jewish community lingered on and some of them gradually penetrated the religious thought of the masses. They even established themselves in the theological thinking of the men who formulated beliefs and practices in Judaism.

Professor Ginzberg's warning is indeed well-taken. Yet it expresses a too limited view of the value of the apocalyptic writings for the historical study of Jewish religious beliefs and practices. Would a history of the Jewish religion based upon rabbinic sources alone present the subject properly? Would not such a history be rather one-sided? An adequate history of the Jewish religion cannot be achieved without the full exploration of all basic material available in every known source. To give preferential consideration to rabbinic texts to the exclusion of all other primary materials for a history of the Jewish religion is to dismiss as worthless, basic sources capable of yielding results essential for the proper understanding of many an indigenous religious belief for the origin of which, in all likelihood, no rabbinic testimony exists. Therefore it is a fundamental mistake to suppose that the literature of the rabbis alone, or, for that matter, the apocalyptic writings alone, can explain what Judaism really stood for, in that or in any other bygone age. Indeed, no one can understand the Judaism of the days of the apocalyptics, with its bitter prejudices, its extraordinary ideals, its scorn of compromise, its inveterate pride and its responsiveness to new ideals unless one draws fully on all available sources including those of the apocalyptic writings. To make use of one without resorting to the other in any effort to reconstruct the system of early Jewish religious belief and practice is to offer a very vague, if not a distorted presentation of the subjects. One complements the other. This relationship is certainly true of the study of Jewish eschatological teachings. Neither a unified nor correct presentation of any of the essential features of the

eschatological structure set up in Jewish theology can be had without the full exploitation of both the apocalyptic and rabbinical sources.

It is not always realized that it is in the apocalyptic writings of the Jews that one discovers what is regarded as the earliest record of expressions of the imaginative powers of the Jews with regard to events, natural and supernatural, nations, persons and teachings recorded in Scripture. This early record of the exercise of Jewish imagination is continued even on a much larger scale in the writings of the rabbis. Early Christianity and especially the Church Fathers drew generously upon these sources. A proper understanding of the interrelationship of Judaism and early Christianity is virtually impossible without resorting to the resources of both. Indeed, Ginzberg himself has well pointed out "the close affinity that exists between the pseudepigraphic literature and the rabbinic Haggadah, not withstanding the centuries that lie between some of the Pseudepigrapha and the Midrashim."[133] It is, therefore, unfortunate that non-Jewish scholars, with but very few exceptions, have paid so little attention to the study of the writings of the early rabbis. It is largely for this reason that one encounters rather frequently a considerable amount of confusion, not to speak of the numerous points of misunderstanding in the treatments of Judaism and its role in Christian origins. Much of this could be avoided if greater and more competent use were made of rabbinic materials, especially of the early halakic and haggadic texts as well as of the early apocalyptic works.[134] To be

[133] See his Preface to *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1925, v. 5, p. VIII, and his observations (on p. IX) on the channels through which the Church came into possession of some Jewish teachings.

[134] For examples of misuse and misunderstanding of rabbinic texts in well-known works see S. Schechter, "The Law and Recent Criticism" in his *Studies in Judaism*, 1st series, Philadelphia, 1896, pp. 233–251, and his "On the study of the Talmud," *ibid.*, 3rd series, Philadelphia,

sure, such a practice is not altogether without pitfalls; for the study of the relation of Judaism to the beginnings of Christianity requires sound critical insight and a good sense of proportion in the evaluation of the materials, as well as a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the circumstances under which they were produced. In the study of the theological ideas of the period, one's conclusion often depends on which of these two, the rabbinic or the apocalyptic sources, are to be given preference. The latter literature was for the most part produced during the bitter period of the Hasmonean conflicts and the Roman oppression. It betrays, in no small degree, the temper of the time. On the other hand, the great breadth of rabbinic tradition and the fact that it embraces a longer period of time than the other, give it an almost primary position as a historical source.[135] However, no full understanding of the Judaism of the early centuries before and after the rise of Christianity can be attained unless the true relationship of Jewish apocalyptic ideas to the teachings contained in the writings of the rabbis is properly understood. Without an adequate understanding of its teachings and practices as revealed in both the early rabbinical and apocalyptic writings, Judaism cannot be truly appraised. Even if the apocalyptic type of writing is scantily represented in early rabbinical literature, it is hardly comparable with the

1924, pp. 143–193; Felix Perles, *Bousset's Religion des Judentums*, etc., Berlin, 1903; G. F. Moore, "Christian Writers on Judaism" in *HTR*, Cambridge, 1921, v. 14, pp. 222–228.

[135] Examples of adequate and competent use by Christian scholars of rabbinic texts are found in such works as B. H. Branscomb, *Jesus and the Law of Moses*, New York, 1930; R. T. Herford, *Pharisaism*, London, 1912; *The Pharisees*, New York, 1924; George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, Cambridge, 1927–1930, 3 vols.; Erik Sjöberg, *Gott und die Sünder in palestinischen Judentum*, etc., Stuttgart, 1939, and Paul Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde*, etc., Tübingen, 1934.

wealth of Jewish apocalyptic teachings contained in the apocalyptic books. Nor does this type, in the slightest degree, imply that one is less Jewish in character than the other. One may truly say of both of these, as it has so aptly been said of the teachings of the opposite schools of Hillel and Shammai: "The words of the living God are in both."[136]

Apocalypticism in Talmud and Midrash

It is true indeed that while apocalyptic passages in the Talmud and Midrash are relatively few, it cannot be stated with any amount of certainty whether they always represent the words of the men to whom they are attributed or whether they were taken over by them from existing texts in circulation in their day. It is not unlikely that they express ideas which were really given currency long before their day. The rabbis merely took them over and transmitted them to posterity, sometimes virtually in the same form in which they are now available in rabbinic literature. No doubt the rabbis used various oral and written sources in the formulation of their apocalyptic teachings. Indeed, in each of the numerous examples of apocalyptic passages which can be culled from rabbinic texts one would go far afield in assuming that an apocalypse which originally had a separate existence has here and there been put in the mouth of some Tanna or Amora and mixed up with utterances that actually come from him. In all likelihood it had a separate literary existence before its incorporation in a talmudic or midrashic text. Such apocalyptic teachings as concern themselves with eschatological ideas familiar from the classic apocalyptic writings of the Jews as are scattered in the Mishna, Midrash and Gemara, have

[136] אלו ואלו דברי אלהים חיים, 'Er. 13; Yer. Ber. 1.5 and Yer. Yeb. 1 at end.

certainly found their way into medieval Jewish writings. A passage found in one source is often paralleled, with or without variations, in other texts as well. Many an apocalyptic passage in rabbinic literature recorded in the name of a Tanna or an Amora often represents a text of an earlier day. Such passages are credited to men of a later day only because they modified somewhat the ideas in question, or connected them with the explanations of Scriptural verses, and not because they were the authors of them or the originators of the ideas they convey. It is not improbable that a large portion of the early apocalyptic writings is still extant, though with modifications and accretions, in the numerous small midrashim that have been collected by Jellinek, Wertheimer, Horowitz and others and republished by J. D. Eisenstein as well as in some of the medieval products of the Kabbalah.

It is not unlikely that both the apocalyptic writers as well as the rabbinic sages drew upon much older apocalyptic sources which were current long before their day, even in the days of the early and later prophets, and which in many respects resemble some of the later apocalyptic works. The tannaitic discussions of apocalyptic subjects, especially those which are eschatological in character, were, in no small measure, affected by the Jewish apocalyptic teachings current in the days of the tannaim or in the days that immediately preceded and followed them. Some evidence is also available to show that the apocalyptic spirit dominated many of the eschatological teachings and much of the preaching even of the Amoraim. Though it is often difficult to distinguish later apocalyptic elements from earlier, it is undeniable that such elements were not always absent from Jewish literature. Some of those passages do not always represent the actual teachings of the rabbis in whose name they are frequently recorded, but they share the pseudonymous character of so much of the apocalyptic

writing. When they do represent teachings recorded in the names of rabbis they offer a clear breach with that tradition, but a breach in the sphere of oral teaching which can not always be pseudonymous rather than in written teaching. They seem to have been recorded in literature earlier than any of the rabbinical texts now extant. Whether it is so or not, is immaterial for the purpose of this study which concerns itself primarily with the place in Judaism of the apocalyptic ideas and hopes which have touched and affected the religious teachings of the Jews. It does not matter whether those ideas were first written down by one or another of the rabbis or were merely attributed to them. They contain references to the events of the coming end and in other ways resemble familiar apocalyptic works. In so far as they speak of the end of the days, they present some of the elements they have taken over of the widespread Jewish apocalyptic expectations and, like the apocalyptic writers, they endeavor to make them the vehicle of a message of hope, at least, for the righteous. In that message there lay a deep spiritual truth independent of the form in which it was cast. They also made them the vehicle of a summons to loyal vigilance (Abot 4.21–22).

The question is not whether the early rabbis knew of the apocalyptic writings or not. Throughout this study, it is taken for granted that, in one form or another, these writings were known to them. While most of the apocalyptic writings dropped out of general Jewish tradition in the second or third century, many of their teachings found their way into early rabbinical writings but also in those of the gaonic period. The question really is whether or not the rabbis made use of them either by quotation or by borrowing ideas and phrases from them. Some scholars like Herford[137] have not hesitated to offer a negative answer.

[137] See his *The Pharisees*, pp. 176–197.

This is especially so of those scholars who, often overlooking the fact that rabbinic Pharisaism after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE differed largely from the Pharisaism that flourished previously, have endeavored to declare everything in early Judaism as Pharisaic. Ginzberg is of the opinion that "the apocalyptic literature of the gaonic period is neither in form nor in matter a direct development of the pre-talmudic Apocalypse."[138] While admitting that "one might cite numerous parallels to the statements, legends or phrases of the apocalyptic authors from Rabbinic writings," he nevertheless contends, without convincing proof, that "these parallels are never of a nature that would indicate a literary dependence of the one kind of literature upon the other."[139] Indeed, it is surely possible to quote a passage in a somewhat different sense and with many of its phrases changed, only retaining a word or two. Sometimes a phrase which alone serves as a clue to the original, indicates direct or indirect dependence or divergence. But no satisfactory answer to the question can be given until an exhaustive study has been made of the apocalyptic ideas scattered in early rabbinical literature and their relation to the apocalyptic writings. No attempt at an exhaustive compilation of apocalyptic material in early rabbinical writings has thus far been made, nor has there been any adequate discussion of their dependence upon or divergence from the known apocalyptic literature.

Eschatological Scheme and Other Doctrines

No matter how rent they were by conflicting views, emotions and loyalties, the early rabbis and the apocalyptic writers were not far apart in their basic theology. They both had one matter in common: they shared a

[138] *JBL*, 1922, v. 41, p. 116.
[139] *Ibid.*

more or less definite conception of what is essential in Jewish theology. They recognized Judaism as a religion which holds certain beliefs and holds them tenaciously. God is One: he created the universe; he chose Israel; he gave Israel the Torah; he prepared a future for Israel. Without these beliefs there can, it would seem, be no such thing as Judaism religiously conceived. The rabbis are unanimous in accepting these teachings. The fact that, at an earlier date, these were equally acceptable to the apocalyptic writers should tend to deter any effort, so often made, to create the impression that the apocalyptic writers were, so to speak, imperfectly "Jewish." It can hardly be gainsaid that with all their superstitious angelology and demonology, the Jewish apocalyptic writers managed somehow to cling to the ancient Jewish faith in the supremacy of God and in the primacy of man.[140]

The eschatological scheme presented in the apocalyptic writings of the Jews is not always uniform. The same elements usually appear in its presentation but these are not always alike. The descriptions of the revelations regarding the events which are to take place at the end of the present world-order and after often differ in detail. This diversity is equally true of the same material as it is handled by the rabbis. They all treat the traditional eschatological material differently. Certain elements are stressed by each of the writers more or less than by the others. It is a matter of individual treatment of material traditionally transmitted. These are factors which must

[140] Schechter, Ginzberg, Herford, Moore and others are virtually unanimous in maintaining that Judaism within the period (roughly) 100 BCE–250 CE, is a unit, fairly uniform throughout its development, and by a necessary process of evolution, issuing in rabbinic authority. The rabbinic sources, therefore, are, on the whole, as valid for the earlier period as for the later. In this they seem to go a bit too far, as they also do in dismissing as vagaries other teachings, especially apocalyptic, in the Judaism of this age.

not be overlooked in any comparison of the claims made for either the apocalyptic or rabbinical writings. After all, both the apocalyptic writers and the rabbis often drew upon materials which had their origin in an older day. It has long been recognized that most of the apocalyptic works now extant were largely based on previously existing literary works.[141] Some of their ideas had already appeared long before prophecy closed and are to be found in several parts of the Hebrew Bible.[142] They reached their most ardent and systematic expression not in the Hebrew Scriptures, but in the apocalyptic writings. The various texts from which the latter writings now extant have been compiled were among the most important survivals of what, in all likelihood, comprised a much larger mass of apocalyptic literature produced at an early period by the Jews in Palestine and Egypt. It is this supposition which probably prompted Ginzberg to declare that "of apocalyptic Pseudepigrapha it may well be said that the new therein is not Jewish and the Jewish is not new."[143] Be that as it may, a goodly portion of the material they present goes back to a much older day. While it is true, indeed, that "in the entire Rabbinic literature of the first six centuries of the Common Era there is not one quotation from the now extant apocalyptic literature,"[144] it is perhaps equally true that the men who fixed the compilation of the Hebrew Scriptures have, wittingly or unwittingly, preserved in

[141] See Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 41. For an adequate treatment of the subject see Volz, *op. cit.*

[142] Some of the most notable apocalyptic passages in the Hebrew Bible are Isaiah chs. 24–27; Joel, Zechariah chs. 12–14 and Daniel. Zephaniah is usually regarded as the first prophet with an apocalypse (see G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, New York, 1898, v. 2, pp. 55 ff.). An apocalypse ascribed to Zephaniah is known to have existed. On fragments of it see Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3. ed., v. 3, p. 271.

[143] See his *Students, Scholars and Saints*, p. 91.

[144] See Ginzberg, *JBL*, 1922, v. 41, p. 131.

them, for posterity, notable texts which are decidedly apocalyptic in character. Several of them probably belong to the same period as some of the so-called extra-canonical, apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books which Ginzberg must have had in mind.

Many of the early apocalyptic works, whether written in Hebrew or Aramaic, have disappeared without leaving any trace in either Jewish or Christian literature. Some of them have sunk into an obscurity into which it is now virtually impossible to penetrate. A few are known either by their names only, or in existing fragments. In the manuscripts of the Greek translation of the Bible the very oldest of which were copied by Christian hands for Christian use, some of the so-called extra-canonical books are intermixed with the canonical. Although this body of writings was taken over by the Church[145] from the Alexandrian Jews it is rather doubtful whether the combination of the two classes of books in one collection goes back to Jewish antecedents. In Palestine the Hebrew writings, withdrawn from circulation and especially from public reading, were left to private care and slowly but surely disappeared. Such works as, in the fourth century CE, were still to be read in their original Hebrew or Aramaic vanished to leave hardly any trace behind. Others continued to be read privately; citations from Ben Sira abound in the talmudic-midrashic literature.[146] "When

[145] It is curious to find a widely recognized authority on the early Church and its literature, observing that the apocalyptic writings comprise "an evil inheritance which the Christians took over from the Jews." Yet their ideas "encircled the earliest Christendom as with a wall of fire, and preserved it from a too early contact with the world" (A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, London, 1894, v. 1, p. 101 and note 3).

[146] See Jacob Reifman, דברים אחדים ממבואי לספרי אפאקריפא לדוגמא בן סירא in האסיף, Warsaw, 1886, v. 3, pp. 243–254 and S. Schechter, "The Quotations from Ecclesiasticus in Rabbinic Literature," in *JQR*, London, 1891, v. 3, pp. 682–706 and the literature referred to therein.

the teachers forget themselves they include the apocryphal books among the 'Writings'; copies of it were still current in the tenth century and those that have been recovered from the Genizah are found to have marginal directions to the reader, that is, the public reader, to 'read so and so', exactly as is the case with the canonical Scriptures. In later, and possibly still earlier, times several apocryphal writings, like Wisdom of Solomon and Susanna were transcribed from the Syriac and read with avidity by Jewish scholars. Even the heretical books continued to be read until the times of Akiba, when in the Hadrianic war the Judeo-Christian sect which stood aloof in the national uprising was definitely thrust out and their literature, by which many a teacher was fascinated, condemned, exactly as were their cures in the name of the Nazarene."[147] Many of the books thus condemned ultimately disappeared from the body of Jewish literature. And, despite the disappearance of the original Hebrew and Aramaic texts,[148] the eschatological, messianic and some other ideas which they presented, somehow found their way into Jewish theological discussion and influenced both the religious beliefs and some of the practices of Judaism. In fact, many of the early apocalyptic teachings have been accepted into the writings of the kabbalistic sages and have thus entered the orbit of medieval Jewish religious lore. The peculiar world of religious thought and experience reflected in the teachings of the Kabbalah finds its origin in the early apocalyptic writings. So eminent a scholar as

[147] See M. L. Margolis, *The Hebrew Scriptures in the Making*, pp. 89 f.

[148] It is not altogether unlikely that all the early apocalyptic works were written in Aramaic. Virtually all of them came into being at a time when Aramaic replaced the Hebrew language as the vernacular of the people. Hebrew, however, continued to serve as the language of letters and literature. It is for this reason that some of the later books in the Hebrew Bible represent works of a bilingual character; some sections of them are written in Hebrew and others in Aramaic.

Gerhard Scholem[149] recognizes the fact that the influence upon the development of Jewish mysticism of "the many pseudepigraphic and apocalyptic works like the Ethiopic Book of Enoch and the Fourth Book of Ezra, which undoubtedly contain elements of Jewish mystical religion" cannot be altogether overlooked.

Many of the doctrines echoed in Jewish apocalyptic lore are those which were taught in Pharisaic quarters during the days of the Second Temple. It is well-known that the first chapters of Genesis (מעשה בראשית) and of Ezekiel (מעשה מרכבה)[150]—giving birth to two well-established terms in Jewish speculation—were among the favorite subjects of discussion and exposition which, presumably for good reason, were not generally made public. While in all likelihood these discussions were confined to the interpretation of the Scriptural passages involved,[151] they concerned themselves with such apocalyptic elements as the *hayyot*, the "living creatures," and such objects of the prophet's vision as "were conceived as angels who form an angelologic hierarchy at a Celestial Court."[152] Whether

[149] See his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, Jerusalem, 1941, p. 39.

[150] *Ma'aseh Bereshit* (work of creation), the rabbinic term for the esoteric doctrine of the universe, or for parts of it. *Ma'aseh Merkabah* (work of the chariot) is a like term for the description of the throne-chariot based on Ezekiel, chs. 1 and 10, as well as on other prophetic descriptions of theophanies. Ezekiel's bold and detailed description of the throne-chariot became a sacred mystery known by the term Merkabah as early as the time of Ben Sira (49.8). Cf. Maimonides, *Guide*, III, 6–7. On the role Merkabah plays in the Kabbalah see G. Scholem, *op. cit.*, Second Lecture "Merkabah Mysticism and Jewish Gnosticism," pp. 39–78. For materials on the Merkabah drawn from apocalyptic and rabbinical sources see Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 974–978. According to R. Berekiah (4 cent.) the Merkabah vision had its source in the revelation at Sinai. See Cant. R. 28.4.

[151] See S. Spiegel in *JBL*, v. 54, 1935, pp. 164 f. Origen and Jerome record a Jewish tradition which prohibits the study of portions of the Book of Ezekiel before the age of thirty. See S. Lieberman, מדרשי תימן, Jerusalem, 1940, p. 16.

[152] G. Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 41. On the influence of היכלות on many Midrashic texts see Zunz-Albeck, הדרשות בישראל, Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 133, 157, 159 and 331.

or not this is the case cannot now be established with any certainty. The references in rabbinic literature to these speculative discussions are too scant to be of much help, but the apocalyptic writers present some early traces of such speculative efforts. In the Book of Enoch an early effort is made to disclose the secrets of *Ma'aseh Bereshit* and of *Ma'aseh Merkabah*. The subsequent developments of this effort and their impact upon later Jewish speculative literature, including the liturgy of the Synagogue, are great. A goodly measure of that impact is apparent not only in the Enoch literature of the pre-Christian centuries but also in that of a considerably later day such as the Hekalot of the geonic time. They all comprise a veritable library of apocalyptic writings characteristic of the best of its kind Judaism ever produced.

Had F. C. Burkitt[153] explored this wealth of apocalyptic lore he would not have asked: "What were the reasons that caused it [the Book of Enoch] to be proscribed and forgotten by Orthodox Judaism, so that hardly a memory of it survives in Rabbinical literature?" He would have found that, far from being forgotten, a goodly number of rabbinic sages occupied themselves with apocalyptic lore in an effort to penetrate the *Ma'aseh Bereshit* and *Ma'aseh Merkabah* mysteries which play no small role in the Enoch apocalypses. Several of the Tannaim and Amoraim are reported to have occupied themselves, at one time or another, with this task. Among those who have done so, the Talmud mentions Rabbis Johanan ben Zakkai, Joshua ben Hananiah, Akiba, Eleazar ben Arak, Hananiah ben Hakinai, Simeon ben Zoma, Simeon ben Azzai and the enigmatic Elisha ben Abuya.[154] To these must be added

[153] *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

[154] See Hag. 14b f.; Yer. Hag. 77b; Tos. Hag. 2,1–5 and Gen. R. 5.11. Cf. Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 39 f., and especially G. Scholem, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–78.

also Rab [Abba Arika] whose many important utterances attest to his tendency in this direction.[155] This testimony of the Talmud is indisputable. Hugo Odeberg[156] brought together a large number of parallel passages which furnish adequate evidence of the recurrence in late Enoch literature of ideas and expressions derived from the Book of Enoch. A careful study of these parallels leads to the inescapable conclusion that the Hekalot books contain much material unquestionably derived from early apocalyptic writings, especially from the Books of Enoch. It may therefore be assumed, with a measure of certainty, that these as well as the other Hebrew apocalyptic writings of the middle ages transmit, here and there, some remnants of early apocalyptic texts. One wonders whether it was not the recognition of this fact that prompted Moore[157] to write: "At a much later time Enoch and what he saw in the heavens appear in Hebrew writings whose resemblance to features of our Book of Enoch suggests subterranean channels of communication, if not literary acquaintance." As one of the oldest books now extant, and perhaps the most notable of its kind in Jewish literature outside of the Hebrew Bible, the Book of Enoch presents an interesting compendium of all kinds of early Jewish apocalyptic teachings including a rather elaborate system of angelology, which, while it penetrated the liturgy of the Synagogue, did not find its way into the Mishna.[158]

It is known that Judah ha-Nasi, the rationalist editor of the Mishna, scrupulously excluded from its text all

[155] See Hag. 12a and Kid. 71a.

[156] *Op. cit.*, pp. 43–51.

[157] *Judaism*, v. 2, p. 281.

[158] For the extent of the penetration of Enochic angelology into rabbinical and Kabbalistic lore and literature, see C. Kaplan, "Angels in the Book of Enoch" in *ATR*, 1930, v. 12, pp. 423–437.

references to the *Merkabah*, to angelology and related subjects. David Neumark first pointed out that, like the prophet Jeremiah, the Mishna knew and rejected the belief in angels.[159] Some of the apocalyptic ideas of the Tannaim kept out of the Mishna are traceable in the pages of the so-called Tosefta, and others found their way not only into the Enoch books,[160] but also into such works as the Apocalypse of Abraham,[161] both of which betray, in no small degree, influences of the teachings of the Essenes.[162] In these and in similar works one comes upon considerable material drawn from Jewish apocalyptic lore and upon explanations of the mysteries of the angelic world and of God's plans and purposes for the future, all put into the mouth of Enoch, because of his supposed transference to the heavenly sphere while alive.[163] The Book of Enoch casts more light upon Jewish ideas concerning the resurrection, the judgment, the Messiah, angelology, demonology, the vindication of the righteous and the messianic age, etc., than any other Jewish apocalyptic work. All these ideas are clothed in strange and often weird symbolism, a feature characteristic of apocalyptic literature, not infrequently perhaps because this sort of literature was meant to be illuminating and comforting to those who could interpret it and to be rather meaningless to others. "The whole of this apocalyptic and pseudep-

[159] See his תולדות העקרים בישראל, Odessa, 1912, v. 2, pp. 3 f.; תולדות הפילוסופיה בישראל, New York, 1921, v. 1, pp. 81 f. and *Geschichte der jüdischen Philosophie des Mittelalters*, etc., Berlin, 1907, v. 1, pp. 67 f.

[160] See Odeberg, *op. cit.*

[161] See ed. Box, London, 1919.

[162] See K. Kohler (*JE*, III, 457 f.) followed by Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Cf. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, etc.. Baltimore, 1940, pp. 288 f.

[163] Gen. 5.24. The Book of Enoch has been described as a sort of Judaistic "Dante." See W. Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewustsein Jesu*, Strassburg, 1892, 2. ed., p. 9.

igraphic literature is shot through with a chain of new revelations concerning the hidden glory of the great Majesty, its throne, its place . . . the celestial sphere towering up one over the other, paradise, hell and the containers of the souls."[164]

Apocalyptic Thought in the Kabbalah

G. Scholem endeavored to demonstrate with no small measure of success the essential continuity of apocalyptic thought in Judaism in all its stages of development. Though he was primarily concerned with the tracing of the role it played in the development of kabbalistic speculation, he also shows, *mutatis mutandis*, that the role apocalyptic lore played in Judaism was continuous. From the early Jewish apocalyptic writers this lore found its way into the "speculations of the Mishnaic teachers who are known to us by name", and from them it penetrated the "mysticism of late and post-talmudic times, as reflected in the literature which has come down to us." Scholem is right in asserting that "we are dealing here with a religious movement of distinctive character whose existence conclusively disproves the old prejudice according to which all the productive religious energies of early apocalyptic were absorbed by and into Christianity after the latter's rise."[165] Kaufmann Kohler also, long before Scholem's remarkable researches in kabbalistic lore had made their appearance, pointed out the fact that "the apocalyptic literature belonging to the second and first pre-Christian centuries contained the chief elements of the Cabala."[166] Therefore it is not

[164] W. Baldensperger, *Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judenthums*, Strasbourg, 1903, p. 68.

[165] G. Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[166] *JE*, III, 457.

unlikely that the popularity of the apocalyptic writings current in his day prompted Ben Sira's warning:

"Seek not (to understand) what is too wonderful for thee,
And search not out that which is hid from thee.
Meditate upon that which thou must grasp
And be not occupied with that which is hid.
Have naught to do with that which is beyond thee,
For more hath been shown to thee than thou canst understand."[167]

And when Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, who is said to have been well-versed in science,[168] refers to an interdiction against discussing Creation (מעשה בראשית) before two of his pupils, and the throne-chariot (מעשה מרכבה) before one, he too must have had in mind the impact of apocalyptic speculation upon his contemporaries. Rabbi Eliezer ben Azariah (of the first and second century) advised his pupils: "Refrain your children from the higgayon,"[169] that is from studying the apocalyptic writings about which it is said, "They are given to talk about not for wearisome study."[170] Views such as this shared by many a rabbi, brought about the neglect of study of the apocalyptic writings among Jews.

For many years a tacit presumption prevailed that the apocalyptic books were virtually devoid of spirituality, and therefore altogether worthless for religious purposes. Jost, Graetz, Schechter, Ginzberg and others among Jews, and Herford and Moore among Christians, have denied

[167] Ben Sira 3.21–23 quoted in Hag. 13a, Yer. Hag. 77c. Cf. Gen. R. 8. According to an ingenious suggestion of Nachman Krochmal the last warning of Kohelet against the making of many books refers to the apocalyptic teachings. See מורה נבוכי הזמן in כתבי נחמן קרוכמאל, ed. Rawidowicz, Berlin, 1924, 2.8.

[168] Suk. 28a.

[169] ומנעו בניכם מן ההגיון, Ber. 28b and with variations *Derek eretz rabba*, ch. 3. On ההגיון see the Dictionaries of Levy, Jastrow and Ben Yehuda.

[170] להגיון ניתנו ליגיעה לא ניתנו (Koh. R. 12.13; Yer. Sanh. X.28a).

any significance to whatever role they played in Judaism. In so doing they gave expression to a firmly established attitude which Judaism long ago assumed toward them. At best, the apocalyptic writings gained currency among the Jews but any inherent worth was always denied to them. "They never received the sanction of the Rabbis, and at the crisis of the national religious life they were cast out of Jewish tradition as of dubious value or mischievous."[171] The Jewish attitude to them was evidently conditioned at an early date by the dispute between the Church and the Synagogue. Such objections as Rabbi Akiba[172] had to "outside" books were motivated by a desire to disarm the Jewish Christians of his day who drew upon their contents for many of the arguments in support of their teachings. It is doubtful whether they were aimed at the apocalyptic writings. Moreover the tendency in Judaism to discourage such teachings as the apocalyptic ones which often bear the stamp of foreign influence,[173] and which are linked to the Bible, no matter in how remote a manner, likewise contributed to the formation of the traditional Jewish attitude to the early apocalyptic writings. While this attitude brought about a situation in which the apocalyptic books were completely sidetracked in Jewish tradition, it could not prevent

[171] N. Bentwich, *Hellenism*, Philadelphia, 1919, p. 110.

[172] See Sanh. 10.1.

[173] A. T. Olmstead, "Intertestamental Studies" in *JAOS*, 1936, v. 56, p. 245, expressed the opinion that the "background for Jewish apocalyptic is found . . . in pagan sources." C. C. McCown, "Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature" in *HTR*, 1925, v. 18, pp. 357–411, assumes Egyptian origin. A contrary view is held by A. S. Peake, "The roots of Hebrew Prophecy and Jewish Apocalyptic," *JRLB*, Jan. 1923, pp. 233–255, reprinted in *Holborn Review*, 1924, n. s., v. 15, pp. 62–76. That Persian conceptions pertaining to cosmogony, angelology, demonology and eschatology penetrated into Judaism without affecting its fundamental development is recognized by J. Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum*, Giessen, 1920.

the penetration of apocalyptic ideas into Jewish religious lore and practice. Even though the early apocalyptic books have been neglected in Judaism, somehow many of their teachings have not lost all claim to influence or importance.

A great deal of the faith and thought of the apocalyptic writers passed directly or indirectly into the convictions and hopes of generations of Jews, who, while not always aware of their source, accepted them among the traditions of their people; these Jews built upon them a fabric of life and thought very different from that of Christianity upon which the apocalyptic writings also had so profound an influence. Indeed there is a perceptible trace of their teachings and ideas which contributed to the shaping and molding of some Jewish religious beliefs and practices. Since the apocalyptic writings could not exercise any direct hold over the congregation of Israel which, at some given time and circumstance not yet fixed with any certainty, "contrived to exclude the whole of the literature from the works used for public reading or public teaching in the schools, so that it played scarcely any direct part in later Jewish thought."[174]

Those who have endeavored to study the trend of religious and social ideas in early Judaism are divided on just this issue, the significance of the role apocalyptic elements played in it. It is a great problem which students of the history of early Jewish religious developments will some day have to settle. This must have been a difficult and important struggle in the early days of Judaism by which it endeavored, not altogether successfully, to free itself from the apocalyptical inheritance which it received almost at its birth.

[174] N. Bentwich, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

Approach of Messianic Age

The widespread expectancy of the imminent approach of the messianic age forms the background of much of what was taught in Judaism in the days of the apocalyptic writers. Living in days of sore trial many Jews believed that the end of days was at hand and with it the approaching deliverance which, in some mysterious way, would bring God nearer to men. The messianic hopes of the prophets often gave rise to spiritual unrest among Jews and non-Jews. While to non-Jews these hopes not infrequently spelled dread of an impending cataclysm, to the Jews they were to lead to the expected fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecies of the end of the world. It was the general belief that the world was very old, and that a fixed cycle, rapidly coming to its end, determined the limits it would reach. The messianic age was to be brought about not by human valor but by divine intervention. They believed that now in their own day the time of the "end" had come.

What was to happen in connection with the approach of that "end" constituted a subject of much speculation by the rabbis. The apocalyptic literature and lore current in their day yielded a wealth of ideas and suggestions appropriate to their need. Exploiting them was quite a rewarding venture; they were unhesitatingly taken over first by the Tannaim and later by the Amoraim who used them advantageously. No wonder there is so much in common between the apocalyptic writings and the sayings of the rabbis in thought and language—they were both treating of the same great subject, the role of God in history especially at the end of days. Not only the end of days, but the beginning of time, too, is considered in apocalyptic lore. Both, the apocalyptic writers as well as the rabbinic sages, knew of objects predestined or brought

into being before the world came into existence. In a Baraita transmitted in several recensions are listed seven persons or things which were created prior to the creation of the world. They are 1) The Torah, called the "beginning of his way";[175] 2) The throne of glory, which "is established of old";[176] 3) The sanctuary—"from the beginning thou place of our sanctuary";[177] 4) The Patriarchs —"I saw your fathers as the first-ripe in the fig-tree at her first season";[178] 5) Israel—"thy congregation which thou hast gotten of old";[179] 6) The Messiah—"Before the sun his name sprouts forth as Yinnon, 'the awakener' ";[180] also "His goings forth are from of old, from ancient days";[181] 7) Repentance—"Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world . . . Thou art God—and sayest: 'Return, [to God] ye children of men' ".[182] To these seven, some added: 8) Gan 'Eden—"The Lord God planted a garden in Eden from the beginning";[183] 9) Gehenna—"Tofet is ordered of old".[184] In some sources there is also added: 10) The Holy Land—"The beginning of the dust of the world".[185]

[175] Prov. 8.22.

[176] Ps. 93.2.

[177] Jer. 17.12. [178] Hos. 9.10.

[179] Ps. 74.2.

[180] Ps. 72.17. The passage is translated in conformity with rabbinical interpretations.

[181] Micah 5.1. Cf. Pirke R. Eliezer 3.

[182] Ps. 90.2–3.

[183] Gen. 2.8, rabbinical interpretation of מקדם. The prevailing view in rabbinic sources is that paradise was created before the world: Bereshit R. 11.9, 12.5, 15.3, 21.9; Jubilees 2.7 and II Enoch 21.1. Cf. L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, v. 5, p. 29, note 76.

[184] Isa. 30.33.

[185] Prov. 8.26. The Scriptural passages cited as proof of the existence of certain objects prior to creation are taken from the Jewish Publication Society of America version. When passages are quoted in conformity with their rabbinic interpretations, they must be so rendered. See Pes. 54a; Ned. 39b; Pirke R. Eliezer 3; Tanna debe Eliyahu R. 31;

All these, according to the rabbis, had their existence prior to earthly life, that is, before Creation. They all form part of the divine plan of human salvation or of the establishment of order in worldly affairs. It is not altogether extraordinary to find that virtually all these references, as well as others, in early rabbinical texts, to persons and things supposedly brought into being before Creation took place, have many parallels in the early apocalyptic writings. For it is from the latter sources that directly or indirectly, the rabbis derived their ideas as to what occurred before the acts of Creation. A few examples should suffice to make this point clear. According to II Enoch (25.4): "The throne of glory was the first thing created by God." The idea that Paradise (Gan 'Eden) with all the treasures of reward for the righteous[186] were prepared from the beginning is familiar from the early apocalyptic writings. It is already found in the Apocalypse of Baruch 4.6; 52.7; 81.4; 84.6; II Enoch 9.1; 49.2; Ethiopic Enoch 103.3 cf. 38.3; Apocalypse of Ezra 8.52 and others. As to Gehenna and its tortures having been prepared from the beginning for the wicked, there are several striking references in apocalyptic literature such as are found in the Apocalypse of Baruch 59.2; Apocalypse of Ezra 7.84, 93; 8.59; 13.36 and II Enoch 10.4. With regard to Jerusalem, it is part of the Holy Land, and the apocalyptic writers believed that its existence actually goes back to eternity, as is evident from the Apocalypse of Baruch 4.3, 6; Apocalypse of Ezra 7.26 and 8.52. The idea that upon his appearance the Messiah will bring to light all the hidden treasures is clearly expressed in the Apocalypse of Ezra 12.32; 13.35;

Midr. Teh. Ps. 74 and Ps. 113; Gen. R. 13; Sifre, Deut. 37. Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, Cambridge, 1927–30, v. 1, pp. 266, 526; v. 2, p. 344 and pertinent note in v. 3, p. 82.

[186] Midr. Teh. Ps. 31.20 [19].

14.9; Enoch 46.3; 49.4 and 61.13. The notion of the existence of the Messiah before Creation includes also the existence of his name. From the apocalyptic writers this notion found its way into the teachings of the rabbis. Indeed, the rabbis maintained that of the things fashioned prior to the creation of the world, the last was the name of the Messiah.[187] In the messianic similitudes of Enoch the Messiah's pre-existence is assumed: "The messiah was chosen of God before the creation of the world, and he shall be before Him to eternity" (Enoch 48.6). Again, "Before the sun and the signs of the zodiac were created, or ever the stars of heaven were formed, his name was uttered in the presence of the Lord of Spirits [=God]" (Enoch 48.3). There are other passages in early apocalyptic writings bearing on the Messiah; they are merely general statements to the effect that he was hidden and preserved by God[188] without any declaration as to when he began to be. It is not at all surprising, therefore, to find many of the ideas that figure in early apocalyptic writings have their counterparts in the literature of the rabbis.

Apocalyptic "Quotations and Ideas" in Rabbinic Literature

It is upon the authority of so eminent a scholar as Ginzberg that "one may state that there is not one quotation from the now extant apocalyptic writings in the vast

[187] Cf. Ps. 72.17; Pes. 54a; Midr. Tanh., Naso, ed. Buber § 19; Midr. Tehil. 21; Gen. R. 1; Pesik. R. 33 and parallels. According to the Targum to Micah 4.8 the antemundane existence of the Messiah's name is implied also in Micah 5.1 and Zech. 4.7. The idea was also known to Philo. See H. A. Wolfson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 182 ff.

[188] See e. g., Enoch 62.6–7; 46.1–3. Kaufmann Kohler (*JE*, V, 214) suggested that the references to the Messiah coming from the North (צפון) may actually mean from "concealment." See Lev. R. 9; Num. R. 13, after Isa. 41.25. Cf. John 7.27.

rabbinic literature extending over the first six centuries of the common era."[189] And yet it is in these writings that one often notes passages which, though not marked as quotations, seem to have been derived from apocryphal sources. Some of those passages are of such length as to give the impression that there is an intentional quotation, or that well-known phrases are chosen to convey the desired meaning. So striking are they in resemblance as to suggest sometimes a very close relationship if not actual literary dependence on the part of the rabbis. There is no need to disregard such passages for want of any acknowledgment that they represent citations; such unmarked quotations abound in rabbinical literature; modern usage would place them between inverted commas, but the device was not then known. Not only are there unacknowledged quotations, but many, whether acknowledged or not, are very far from close verbal agreements with readings now available in apocalyptic texts. Nor is such agreement to be expected, for it is not unlikely that most of the quoting was done from memory; it was difficult to locate a given text in a roll which was voluminous in more senses than one, even if the required roll were at hand. Presumably in those days this was a well-understood and accepted practice; exact phraseology did not matter if the general sense were given. If there is no similarity of phraseology there certainly is similarity of thought. The resemblance can hardly be accidental. Without seeming to be borrowing the rabbis' words clearly show indebtedness to apocalyptic writings. The allusive style employed renders it sometimes difficult to resist the inference that the apocalyptic writings were the source from which the early rabbis took them.[190] Though it is, indeed, true that books which

[189] *JBL*, 1922, v. 41, p. 116.

[190] This explanation, however, may not serve the purpose when

were not used in the Synagogue and religious school—as presumably was the case with the apocalyptic works—would not be so familiar, or would not lend themselves so readily to allusion or quotation, they were nevertheless widely circulated in private, and "in their time were very popular."[191] A careful investigation of pertinent rabbinic texts will reveal their points of contact as well as their dependence upon one another of apocalyptic work. There certainly is a marked influence of the apocalyptic teachings upon rabbinic texts; the common thought and phraseology are undeniable. Even if one admits that many of the parallels are mere coincidences or due solely to other factors, there is still a considerable residue left. This residue would be far greater had the whole of the Jewish literature of the period in question been available for the purposes of comparison. As it is, many of the apocalyptic books are extant only in fragments, often in highly uncertain texts, some of them having passed through a terrible sieve of translation, Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Georgian, Coptic, Slavonic, etc., etc. There is no question that a goodly amount of the apocalyptic teachings represented in both the apocryphal books and the rabbinical texts "was part of the common stock of religious ideas, a natural element in the Jewish religion of that time."[192]

The apocalyptic writings now extant are certainly older than the literature of the haggadah by several centuries. Such apocalyptic passages as found their way into early haggadic texts are akin in content, if not always in form,

applied to quotations from Scripture. Such quotations were usually made with utmost care, and discrepancies between them and the established Scripture text attested by manuscripts, do not indicate inaccuracies but rather variations in the current text.

[191] G. F. Moore, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 281.

[192] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 123.

to similar passages in apocalyptic works. What Ginzberg has so correctly pointed out in connection with the haggadah is equally true of the apocalyptic lore: "Jewish legends have rarely been transmitted in their original shape;" they have been perpetuated in the form of Midrash, that is, Scriptural exegesis."[193] Both the haggadah and the apocalyptic writings "all belong to that vast literature, parenetic, homiletic, legendary, poetical, fantastical, paroemiological which fall under one heading called Midrash or Midrash Agada."[194] Certain apocalyptic ideas in rabbinic writings of which no counterparts can be found in extant Jewish apocalyptic texts are assumed to have been derived from sources no longer in existence. On the other hand, the Talmud and the Midrash record discussions of ideas by some of the early rabbis which are based on teachings clearly stated in, some of the now extant, early Jewish apocalyptic works. The rabbis often elaborated on apocalyptic material which they found at hand. They were steeped in the apocalyptic lore which has come down to them. As they often wrote in much the same vein, with much the same imagery, they did not hesitate to employ the words so familiar to them.

Rabbinical literature incorporates ideas derived from earlier writings which disappeared long ago, but they are recast and sometimes combined with one another and presented in a given pattern. Though many of the ideas they convey belonged to the common stock of apocalyptic lore, they were taken up and used and, with a skill that is surpassing, were worked into a design that is *sui generis*. They apparently had a part to play. By their study one can trace, with a measure of success, the growth of some

[193] Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, p. X.

[194] See M. Gaster, "The Apocrypha and Jewish Chap-Books," in his *Studies and Texts in Folklore*, etc., London, 1925, v. 1, pp. 280 ff.

ideas in Judaism, especially eschatological ones, and understand something of the apocalyptic background even of rabbinic Judaism. In fact, an examination of the apocalyptic material in rabbinic literature would show that during the formation of the rabbinic tradition it was precisely the eschatological elements in it that went through considerable expansion and development. Indeed, P. Volz[195] has made excellent use of such material, and thereby demonstrated that it is incorrect to assume that apocalyptic teachings played no role in early Judaism. Virtually all the spiritual conceptions of the Days to Come which found their way into Judaism are derived from the apocalyptic writings. In many a rabbinic text containing apocalyptic ideas an abiding impression is preserved of the early Jewish apocalyptic tendencies.

The study of eschatological teachings of the early rabbis reveals how far the ideas of the early apocalyptic writers had permeated the theological lore of the Jews. Even the Gospel of Mark (ch. 13.6–8, 14–20, 24, 27) and its parallels in the New Testament had been influenced by them. Competent scholars long ago pointed out that the whole eschatological material of the Book of Enoch found its way into the Talmud.[196] Eschatological passages in rabbinical texts and a number of popular Jewish beliefs and superstitions can be explained adequately with the aid of early apocalyptic writings. It is true indeed that the whole eschatological system of retribution through paradise and hell never assumed in Judaism the character of dogmatic belief.[197] Yet the belief in the resurrection and in

[195] *Op. cit., passim.*

[196] See article "Eschatology" in the *JE*, V, 209 ff.; Bousset-Gressmann, *op. cit.*, Chapter 25; P. Volz, *op. cit.*, and K. Kohler, *The Origins of the Synagogue and the Church*, New York, 1929, pp. 179 f., and his *Heaven and Hell*, New York, 1923, pp. 67–70.

[197] Rabbinic Judaism transferred the scene of the heavenly judgment

the coming of the Messiah, the setting up of the kingdom of God on earth,—beliefs which occupy a very prominent place in apocalyptic literature, are among the essential elements of rabbinic theology.[198] Other elements too are common to both the apocalyptic and the rabbinical writings. One often finds in both—the apocalyptic and rabbinic literature—many vivid, indeed, often lurid, pictures setting forth the bliss of the righteous and the fate of the wicked when the Messiah will come. These, of course, are mere picturesque delineations and are not transmitted as formal doctrines; they are nonetheless characteristic features of both the rabbinical and apocalyptic schemes of eschatology. Both of them reflect some of the highest and deepest Jewish religious thought that entered into a popular Jewish theology. A. Marmorstein[199] had shown that one can readily discern, in the various passages found in a number of haggadot, the extent of agreement between some of the teachings of the apocalyptic writers and those of the early rabbis. They concern themselves largely with eschatological experiences in the latter end of the days (באחרית הימים) on the confines of history.[200] In those days, the rabbis like the apocalyptic writers, believed that wonders will mark the future, such as at the overthrow of the city of chaos in the Isaianic apocalypse or of the empires in the visions of

from the hereafter to the annual Day of Judgment at the beginning of the year (R. H. 16b).

[198] See S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, New York, 1909, and A. Marmorstein, *The Doctrine of merits in old rabbinical literature*, London, 1920.

[199] In מצודה, London, 1943, v. 2, pp. 94–105.

[200] The phrase באחרית הימים occurs thirteen times in the Hebrew Bible: Gen. 49.1; Numb. 24.14; Deut. 4.30; 31.29; Isa. 2.2; Jer. 23.20; 30.24; 48.47; 49.39; Ezek. 38.16; Hos. 3.5; Micah 4.1; Dan. 10.14 and its Aramaic equivalent in Dan. 2.28. In prophetic writings it is used technically of the advent of the messianic age. In Gen. 49.1 and elsewhere (Numb. 24.14 etc.) it has the general sense of the remote future.

Daniel. They looked forward to "the end of the wonders," (קץ הפלאות) after which the new world order—the messianic era, with its realization and recognition of the Sovereignty of God—will be established.[201] In rabbinical lore descriptions of eschatological events which are then to occur are significant in their agreements with those found in apocalyptic writings, and are valuable in establishing that the primary interest of Jewish eschatology is in the final destiny of the Jewish people and the world in general. This eschatology has a secondary interest in the individual, it is primarily concerned with Israel as the people of God and the victory of God's truth and justice on earth. The expectation of the greater things to come in the future underlies the biblical and apocalyptic construction of the history of both Israel and mankind. There is a striking resemblance between the tannaitic and apocalyptic picture of the time approaching the advent of the messianic era.

"In the last days false prophets [i. e. pseudo-messiahs] and corruptors will multiply and sheep will be turned into wolves, love into hatred; lawlessness will prevail, causing men to hate, persecute and deliver up each other; and Satan, 'the world-deceiver', will in the guise of the Son of God perform miracles, and as ruler of the earth commit unheard of crimes."[202] The description in early rabbinical literature is somewhat similar: "With the footprints of the Messiah[203] presumption shall increase and dearth reach its height; the vine shall yield its fruit but the wine shall be costly; and the empire shall fall into heresy and there shall be none to utter reproof. The council-

[201] Isa. 25.1 f., and Dan. 12.6. On קץ as a technical term designating the end of a period, see Louis Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte Sekte*, etc., New York, 1922, pp. 39 ff.

[202] Didache XVI, 3 ff.; Sibyllines 2.165 ff., 3.63.

[203] עקבות משיח, Ps. 89.52; cf. the term עקב עשו "the last days of the rule of Esau" "Edom-Rome." Cf. Apocalypse of Ezra 6.8–10; Bereshit R. 63; Yalkut and Pirke R. Eliezer 32.

chamber shall be given to fornication. Galilee shall be laid waste and Gablan shall be made desolate; and the people of the frontier shall go about from city to city with none to show pity on them. The wisdom of the Scribes shall become insipid and they that shun sin shall be deemed contemptible, and truth shall nowhere be found. Children shall shame the elders, and the elders shall rise up before the children, 'for the son dishonoureth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; a man's enemies are the men of his own house'.[204] The face of this generation is as the face of a dog, and the son will not be put to shame by his father. On whom can we stay ourselves?—on our Father in heaven."[205]

Significant, indeed, is the idea that the righteous as purely spiritual beings like the angels, are to enjoy supernatural bliss; they are destined to occupy an extraordinary position in the messianic banquet which will be held in a world full of celestial joy and abounding in wonders. To such a world Abba Arika was accustomed to refer in the following words: "In the world to come there will be neither eating nor drinking, nor procreation nor barter, nor envy, nor hatred, nor quarrel; but the righteous sit, with their crowns upon their heads and enjoy the splendor of the Shekinah, as it is said of the nobles of the children of Israel, 'He laid not his hand upon them, but they saw God,

[204] Micah 7.6.

[205] The Mishna Sota 9.15 (Danby's translation, p. 306); Derek Erez Zuta 10; Sanh. 97b; Cant. R. 2.13; Ket. 112b; Shabb. 118a; cf. also Mekilta, *Beshallah*, l. c. Views expressed in these passages, though often credited to Amoraim of the second and third centuries, are those of Tannaim of the first. The authorship or transmission of the little rabbinic Apocalypse at the end of Mishna Sota is attributed by Louis Ginzberg to "Rabbi Eleazar the Great, the favorite disciple of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai." "The reading: R. Joshua ben Hananiah — another favored pupil of R. Johanan — is not based on good authority" (*JBL*, 1922, v. 41, p. 133 f.).

and this was equivalent to their eating and to their drinking'."[206]

In itself the idea is given an unusual place in the Jewish eschatological scheme as developed in Jewish apocalyptic lore. This concept found its way into learned discussions in the Jewish academies at Galilee and Judah and in other quarters as well. One can hear an echo of these discussions in the very meager records of them that survive in rabbinic literature of a later day.[207] The idea revolves around a great banquet at which Behemot and Leviathan will be consumed by the righteous.[208] The belief in the idea be-

[206] Ber. 17a f., and Meg. 15b. Cf. the Targum paraphrase of Ex. 24.11. In the grace after the meal at the Passover Seder as the text appears in some Passover Haggadot, the following passage is inserted: הרחמן הוא ינחילנו ליום שכלו טוב וליום שכלו ארוך ליום שצדיקים יושבים ועטרותיהם בראשיהם ונהנים מזיו השכינה ויהי חלקנו עמהם "May the All-Merciful let us inherit the day which shall be altogether good, the day which shall be wholly long, the day on which the righteous shall sit with their crowns upon their heads feasting on the brightness of the Shekinah. May our portion be among them." The brightness of the Shekinah is frequently mentioned in rabbinical lore (see for instance Gen. R. 11.2). The Apocalypse of Baruch (51.3) speaks of the pious in the future world: "They will shine with a varying glory, their countenances will glow with a new beauty, so that they may partake of the immortal world." The "varying glory" shows the degree of piety of the righteous. See Sifre, Deut. 10.47.

[207] The Talmud (Sanh. 111b; Meg. 15b) records the following idea in the name of R. Ḥaninah: "God himself will be a crown of glory upon the head of each righteous one, as it is written: 'In that day shall the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people' " (Isa. 28.5). Accordingly the *Zohar* (Wayeḥi, ed. Cracow, p. 296) speaks of seats surrounded with crowns prepared for the righteous in paradise thirty days before their death, when their forthcoming arrival there is announced. So sings the poet (R. Meir ben Isaac Nehorai of France, 11th cent.) of the *Akdamut*:

> "Under a canopy of crystal clouds,
> Wearing a beauteous crown,
> Each in accordance with his deeds,
> On a throne with seven steps of fine gold."

[208] The idea of such a banquet was probably suggested by the banquets of the Essenes as described by Philo (*De Vita Contemplativa* §§ 8 ff.) and Josephus (*Jewish Wars*, II, 8, § 5). The suggestion is also

came widespread among the credulous and faithful in the Jewish community. Both early apocalyptic literature and later rabbinic writings record Leviathan and Behemot as having been among the objects created by God on the fifth day. However, the apocalyptic record is the older one. "And it shall come to pass when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those parts, that the messiah shall than begin to be revealed. And Behemot shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and then they shall be for food for all that are left. The earth also shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold and on each vine there shall be a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster produce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine."[209]

contained in the *Seudah* (סעודת לויתן) "the banquet" the very name for the highest bliss in rabbinical literature (mentioned in Abot 3.20). See Charles Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Cambridge, 1897, p. 60. In the New Testament this banquet is referred to in the phrase "sitting at the table of the Messiah" (Rev. 19.9; Luke 13.28–29; 22.30 ff.). At the banquet in the future world mentioned in the Talmud (Yer. M. K. III. 7, 83b and parallels) "the righteous will point to Him with their fingers and say: "For this is the Lord" (Ps. 48.15) etc. והצדיקים מראים אותו באצבע ואומרים כי זה אלקים וכ'ו. See S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, New York, 1950, pp. 15 f. For the idea of the Behemot and Leviathan meal see Enoch 60.7 ff., Apocalypse of Baruch 29.4, Apocalypse of Ezra 6.52, Targ. Yer. to Numb. 11.26, Ps. 104.26. Cf. B. B. 74b; Tanh. *Beshalah*, at end. This endemonistic view is a popular one and is based on Isa. 65.13 and Ps. 23.5. Cf. Numb. R. 21.

[209] Apocalypse of Baruch 29.3–5; Apocalypse of Ezra 6.49–52. Cf. also Targum Jonathan on Gen. 1.21 and Targum on Ps. 50.10. Ginzberg points out (see *Legends*, v. 5, p. 43) that tannaitic literature contains nothing concerning Leviathan and Behemot nor concerning the messianic banquet. The word used in Abot 3.20 (see preceding note) need not be taken literally as may be seen from Tos. Sanh. 8.9. Only in post-tannaitic writings, especially in later Midrashim does the messianic banquet play a part (compare the sources quoted by Ginzberg, *ibid.*). However, some rabbinic passages point to the contrary. The idea of the banquet and of the role Behemot and Leviathan play

The same idea is repeated in the Apocalypse of Ezra (6.42 ff.) in which the objects created on the fifth day of Creation are mentioned, including the beasts of the dry land as well as of Leviathan. They are reserved for the days of redemption. In one form or another these ideas have their repetition in the rabbinic traditions recorded in Talmud and Midrash. They were not born in the days of the rabbis in whose name rabbinic lore transmits them nor was their popularity diminished in later days. The fact that they are first met with in the Apocalypse of Baruch and in that of Ezra indicates that the Jews in Palestine already in the days of the early apocalyptic writers believed that the creator at the very time of creation reserved Behemot and Leviathan for the great messianic banquet.[210] With some embellishments or alterations this belief appears again in later Jewish writings[211]

in it is certainly echoed in the Haggadah of R. Simeon ben Lakish who, in discussing with Johanan the character of eating the cattle mentioned in Scripture, says: בהמה אחת היא רבוצה על אלף הרים ואלף הרים מגדלין לה מאכל לאכילתן של צ ד י ק י ם והיא אוכלת (Lev. R. 22.3). A more correct reading of this passage is found in Pesikta de R. Kahana 58.1: בהמה אחת היא וכ'ו מאכל, מ ע י ן א כ י ל ת ן ש ל צ ד י ק י ם ל ע ת י ד ל ב א. R. Simeon ben Lakish and his contemporaries refer again and again to the expressions נכתבו בספר הצדיקים, נתונות באוצר, נתונות תחת כסא הכבוד etc., as implying one common idea: the reward awaiting the Righteous in the days to come, derived from the apocalyptic lore current in their day. See A. Marmorstein, in מצודה, v. 1, p. 96. Samuel David Luzzatto observed that the legend of the messianic banquet was advanced in order to convey the impression that it will be the last feast prior to the inauguration of the pure spiritual life, when there will be no bodily needs or pleasures (see his note in מחזור מנהג איטאלייאני, Livorno, 1856, v. 2, p. 212b). On those who interpret the Leviathan-Behemot legends allegorically, and conceive the messianic banquet in a spiritual sense, see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, v. 5, pp. 44 ff.

[210] See A. Merx, *Archiv*, etc., vol. 1, p. 423.

[211] In the mysteries of Simon ben Yochai נסתרות ר' שמעון בן יוחאי it is stated that God will prepare tables, slaughter Behemot and Leviathan, and give a great banquet (see Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* 3,6). A like view is expressed in the Targum, see T. Jonathan on Gen. 3.21, on Ps. 9 and 104.26. Cf. כנסת הגדולה, v. 4, p. 102, and Ginzberg, *Legends*, v. 1, p. 27; v. 4, p. 249; v. 5, pp. 43 f., 46 and 48.

and acquired a popular position in medieval Jewish folklore.

Reference to the messianic banquet is certainly contained in a rabbinic passage attributed to Rabbi Isaac: "Rabbi Berekiah said in the name of R. Isaac: In the Time to Come, the Holy One, blessed be He, will make a banquet for his righteous servants, and whoever has not eaten *nebelah* in this world will have the privilege of enjoying it [i. e. the banquet] in the World to Come.[212] R. Berekiah, who expounded R. Isaac's apocalyptic statement, furnishes a motive for its contents, derived from the Scriptural passage: "And the fat of that which dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn of beasts, may be used for any other service; but ye shall in no wise eat of it" (Lev. 7.24), in order that you may eat of it in time to come (לעתיד לבוא). Therefore Moses admonished the children of Israel by saying: "This is the beast that you may eat."[213]

To turn to another example, the Apocalypse of Baruch (chps. 6–8) contains sections giving an account of the destruction of Jerusalem by angels, for which almost exact parallels are found in Talmud and Midrash. In parts it is reproduced, virtually word for word, in Pesikta Rabbati. Baruch is bidden to urge the prophet Jeremiah (2.1 ff.) to leave Jerusalem. He too is commanded to depart from the city before the impending catastrophe. As long as Jeremiah and Baruch were in the city it could not be destroyed:

[212] אריסטון עתיד הקב"ה לעשות לעבדיו הצדיקים לעתיד לבא וכל מי שלא אכל נבלות בעוה"ז זוכה לראותו לעוה"ב (Lev. R. 13.3). אריסטון *ἀριστάω* means to take breakfast, or simply to take the meal called *ἄριστον*, which is applied to breakfast, midday meal and meals in general. See A. Marmorstein, *Studies in Jewish Theology*, Oxford, 1950, p. 117.

[213] זאת החיה אשר תאכלו (Lev. R. 13). According to S. J. L. Rapoport (אגרות, ed. Graeber, Przemysl, 1885, p. 80) Rabbi Berekiah II, was a Palestinian Amora of the fourth century who was one of the teachers of Jerome.

"For your works are to this city as a firm pillar,
And your prayers as a strong wall" (2.2).

Their piety might have prevented the destruction of the temple. By their departure from Jerusalem their protective presence was removed (5.5 f.) Explicitly this is also stated in Pesikta Rabbati[214] in which the apocalyptic account is substantiated: "So long as Jeremiah was in it, it was not destroyed, but when he went forth from it, it was destroyed."[215]

The legendary incident of the priests having been instructed to take

"the keys of the Sanctuary
and cast them into the height of heaven,
and give them to the Lord and say:
'Guard Thy house Thyself,
For lo! we are found false stewards' " (ch. 10.18)

is recounted in several forms in Talmud and Midrash,[216] as an actual event which occurred at the time of the destruction of the first temple, while elsewhere[217] it is recorded as an event that happened at the time of the destruction of the second temple.

[214] Chapter 26, ed. Friedmann, p. 131a. For a number of other examples of a like nature see Ginzberg in *JE*, II, 552 ff.

[215] Pesikta, 115b, ed. Buber, 168. The interpolated passage (4.3–5) in which the earthly Jerusalem is derided and contrasted with the heavenly one revealed to Adam and to Abraham in the night during the "covenant between pieces" (Gen. 15.9–21). There are corresponding passages in rabbinical texts. See Suk. 41a; Ta'an. 5a; Sifre, Deut. 37; Gen. R. 26.8; 44.20, 22. Cf. Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern*, Amsterdam, 1899, p. 13. For an exhaustive study of the heavenly Jerusalem see V. Aptowitzer, בית המקדש של מעלה לפי האגדה", in תרביץ, 1931, v. 2, pp. 137–153; 257–287.

[216] See Ta'an. 29a; Pesikta R. 5.26, ed. Friedmann, p. 131a; Lev. R. 19.6; cf. Yer. Shek. 6.50a. Cf. 4 Baruch 4.3–4 where Jeremiah casts up the keys "before the sun," and Yalkut Shimoni on Isa. 21 where the youngest of the priests (פרחי כהונה) cast them up aloft.

[217] In *Abot de R. Nathan*, ed. Schechter, ch. 7, p. 11 the same episode is recorded in connection with the destruction of the second temple.

The episode of the marvel of the burning of "their bodies within" of the hosts of Sennacherib (ch. 63.6–8), "the number of whose chiefs only was a hundred and eighty-five thousand, and each one of them had an equal number (at his command)" has its record in the Talmud as well,[218] while the legend of Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, whose wickedness earned for him the opprobrium "the impious" and who was "cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted" (ch. 64.8) is also recorded in an early Midrash,[219] from which it found its way into several other Midrashim.

In the same Apocalypse it is told that before leaving this world Baruch was given the opportunity to obtain a full survey of "all the regions of that land, and the figure of the inhabited world, and the top(s) of the mountains, and the depth(s) of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of rivers" so that he might see what he was leaving and whither he was going (76.3). This story is also incorporated in an opinion rendered by R. Akiba and others[220] that, before their death, God enabled not only Moses but other favored men as well to see the whole world and all the mysteries of nature. Baruch was "preserved to the consummation of the times" and was translated to paradise in his mortal body.[221] Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, is described in the Apocalypse of Baruch (1.3) as pious while his people are portrayed as godless. A corresponding description is found in the Talmud.[222]

[218] See Sanh. 94a where it is stated that the souls were burned up but the bodies preserved.

[219] Pesikta d. R. Kahana 25.162; cf. Targ. of Chron. on II Chron. 33.11 and Ginzberg in *JE*, II, p. 553.

[220] Sifre, Numb. 136.

[221] Apocalypse of Baruch 13.3; 25.1; 76.2. The same is also told of Ebed Melek (see Derek Erez Zuta, ch. 1). Since it has been shown by Ginzberg (in *JE*, II, p. 548) that Baruch and Ebed Melek were held to be identical, the deduction is evident.

[222] Arakin 17a.

These are but a few stray examples sufficient to show the extent of exploitation in rabbinical literature of material derived from the Apocalypse of Baruch. In a measure they illustrate the way the rabbis used such materials, of which the Apocalypse of Baruch has an abundant supply. In his article on the Apocalypse of Baruch,[223] Ginzberg pointed out the many parallels to them in rabbinical literature. He also demonstrated that a careful consideration of those parallels throws much light upon frequently misunderstood passages in the Apocalypse of Baruch which, incidentally, contains many points of agreement with Pharisaic teachings especially with regard to sin and to the Torah.

Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish, is recorded as having said that Adam saw every generation and its sages, scribes and leaders.[224] Rabbi Simeon was apparently familiar with the apocalyptic belief that all souls which were to enter human bodies existed long before the creation of the world and man. God placed them in a special repository in the Garden of Eden[225] or in the seventh heaven[226] or in a special repository (אוצר)[227] whence, when required, each soul is called forth to enter a human body. These souls were conceived of as actually living beings. According to the Midrash[228] God took counsel with the souls of the righteous before he created the earth. There are a number of passages in the apocalyptic writings showing that this Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the human souls[229] was prevalent

[223] In *JE*, II, 552 ff.

[224] See Gen. R. ed. Theodor, p. 71. Cf. Benjamin Murmelstein, "Adam, ein Beitrag zur Messiaslehre," in *WZKM*, Wien, 1928–1929, v. 35, pp. 242–275 and v. 36, pp. 51–86.

[225] Tanhuma, Pikkude 3: תדע לך שכל הנשמות שהיו מן אדם הראשון ושיהיו עד סוף כל העולם כולן נבראו בששת ימי בראשית וכולן בגן עדן וכולן היו במתן תורה.

[226] Hag. 12b.

[227] Sifra 143b. See below note 230.

[228] Gen. R. ch. 8.

[229] See Plato, Timaeus, 36; cf. Yeb. 36b; Nid. 30b.

among the Jews long before Rabbi Simeon's day.[230] It had already made its way into Jewish thought in Egypt.[231] The idea was accepted by Philo who believed that the whole atmosphere is filled with souls.[232] It is a belief which according to Josephus[233] was held by the Essenes. It found its way into later Judaism. It is from the apocalyptic writings that the idea was gradually admitted into rabbinical literature.

That in one form or another the idea occurs and recurs in the Talmud is not surprising since both Tannaim and Amoraim seem to have accepted it as part of the theological teachings of Judaism in their day. Moreover, that the

[230] See, e. g., Testament of Moses 12.4–5. An explicit statement of the belief in the pre-existence of the soul is found in an early apocalyptic passage: "All souls are prepared before the foundation of the world" (II Enoch 23.5). According to the Apocalypse of Ezra 4.35 ff., the number of the righteous who are to come into the world is foreordained from the beginning. All souls are therefore pre-existent, although the number of those which are to become incorporated is not determined at the very first. The Apocalypse of Baruch (30.2–3) distinguishes between righteous and common souls, in a passage which described the messianic period and which is characteristic of the concept of pre-existence: "It shall come to pass at that time that the treasuries will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they shall come forth, and a multitude of souls shall be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first shall rejoice and the last shall not be grieved." The souls of the pious are kept in a repository (Apocalypse of Baruch 30.2; Sifre, Numb. 139; Abot de R. Nathan 12 [ed. Schechter, p. 50]; Shab. 152b). According to the Talmud the Messiah will not come till all the souls in the "ozar" or "guf" (the superterrestrial abode of the souls) shall have passed through an earthly existence ('Ab. Zarah 5a; Yeb. 62a. Cf. Gen. R. 8 and Ruth R. Introduction).

[231] See Wisdom of Solomon 8.19–20 and the learned note "On the pre-existence of the soul in the Book of Wisdom" in *The Book of Wisdom*, with introduction and notes ed. by A. T. S. Goodrick, New York, 1913, pp. 377–388. F. C. Porter, in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in memory of William R. Harper*, Chicago, 1908, pp. 205–270, endeavored to prove that the doctrine of pre-existence rests not on Greek but on ancient Hebrew beliefs.

[232] See H. A. Wolfson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 204, 214, 360, 390 and 410.

[233] *Jewish Wars* II, 8.11.

idea does not have its origin in rabbinic lore, as it has often been assumed, is evident from the fact that the various Baraitot, in which one meets with the enumeration of the things that were brought into being prior to the creation of the world as accounted in Genesis, make no mention of the souls.[234]

On the other hand the Apocalypse of Baruch (30.2–3) links the souls in the repository with events that are to transpire in the days of the appearance of the Messiah: "It shall come to pass at that time that the treasuries will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they shall come forth, and a multitude of souls shall be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first shall rejoice and the last shall not be grieved. For they know that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the consummation of the times." This Apocalypse points out that their number had been fixed from time immemorial, from the days of Adam. In addition to these souls others too, without number, will rise and be exposed to the light of the world. Even those souls which have not yet completed their stay in the repository will come to see the new world. Hence the emphasis on the notion that those who have already completed their sojourn in the repository will be happy in the passing world while the others will not be sad even though they have been denied entry into human bodies in the passing world.

Why will the first rejoice and the latter not be sad? Because, it was argued, each and every one of them will know that the number of souls upon which "the end of days" depends has been completed. The souls of the wicked, too, will see what is to happen to the world and

[234] See, e. g., Gen. R. (ed. Theodor), p. 6 ff., and other pertinent passages in Talmud and Midrash.

they will become filled with fear and trepidation; they will realize that the hour has arrived for the punishment that is awaiting them. This, in brief, is what the Apocalypse of Baruch conveys: When the number of souls destined to be created will be completed, "the end of days" will have arrived.[235] All this is virtually identical with what the Haggadah has to say on the subject, traces of which are scattered in rabbinical lore and literature. Indeed, the notion that the souls of the righteous are hidden in the repository or placed under the throne of glory appears often in early rabbinical texts. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this:

a) Commenting on the passage: "all his holy ones—they are in thy hand" (Deut. 33.3), an old Midrash[236] states that it refers to the souls of the righteous.

b) In a different form the same idea is presented in another midrashic passage.[237] Referring to the leaders of Israel who are ready to offer their very lives for the survival of Israel, it cites the role of Moses, who pleaded with God that the sins of Israel be pardoned. This Midrash apparently saw a pertinent relationship between the souls of the righteous placed in the repository and the book containing the record of the righteous to be used in the days to come.

c) There is a Baraita which tells in the name of R. Eliezer that the souls of the righteous are placed under the throne of glory. In support of this claim Scriptural proof is offered by citing the words of Abigail

[235] On the other hand the Apocalypse of Ezra draws the line between the souls of the righteous placed in the repository, and those which are intended to be, but have not yet been, created.

[236] Sifri, *Debarim, piska* 384: כל קדשיו בידך. אלו נפשות של צדיקים שנתונות עמו באוצר שנאמר: והיתה נפש אדוני צרורה בצרור החיים.

[237] Midrash Tannaim, p. 212: כל קדשיו בידך. אלו פרנסיהן של ישראל שהן נותנים נפשם על ישראל כנון שנאמר על משה: ועתה אם תשא, אם אין, מחני נא. אמר משה לפני הקב"ה: רבש"ע אם אין אתה מוחל לעונותיהם של ישראל מחוק שמי מספרך אשר כתבת ספר כתוב לצדיקים לעתיד לבא.

in I Sam. 25.29: "The soul of my lord shall be bound up in the bundle of life."[238]

d) Commenting on the passage: "Who knoweth the the spirit of man," etc., (Eccl. 3.21) other midrashic texts endeavor to explain its meaning as being an implied reference to the souls of the righteous reposing in the repository of souls.[239]

e) Another Baraita expresses Baruch's apocalyptic idea in the following words: "Araboth constitutes what are righteousness and judgment and grace (charity), the treasures of life and the treasures of peace and the treasures of blessing, and the souls of the righteous, and the spirits and souls which are about to be created and the dew with which the Holy One, blessed be he, is about to quicken mortals," etc.[240] Here, too, the souls of the righteous are placed alongside of those that have not yet been born.[241] This passage, which, in all likelihood, was drawn from an early rabbinic text, conveys ideas familiar even from earlier apocalyptic writings. According to Enoch 60.20 "the spirit of the dew dwells at the ends of the heaven, close to the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and in summer." Winds coming from the middle of the twelve portals bring beneficial dew of prosperity; from other portals, injurious dew accompanied by locusts and other calamities (Enoch 76.8 ff.). This also conforms to the rabbinical statement that "in the Makon, the sixth heaven, there are repositories of injurious dews and of beneficial dew-

[238] Shab. 152b.

[239] See Kohelet R. 3.22; cf. Midrash Kohelet Zuta, p. 94.

[240] Hag. 12b: ערבות שבו צדק ומשפט וצדקה גנזי חיים וגנזי שלום וגנזי ברכה, נשמתן של צדיקים ורוחות ונשמות שעתידות להבראות ושל שעתיד הקב"ה בו להחיות מתים.

[241] Cf. Apocalypse of Baruch 48.46: "Thou didst of old command the dust to produce Adam, and thou knowest the number of those who are born from him, and how far they have sinned before Thee" etc. Cf. Apocalypse of Ezra, 3.4–5; 7.116.

drops.[242] In the Synagogue liturgy, too, the role of dew as conceived in Jewish apocalyptic lore is not overlooked. It is the subject of several liturgical compositions. In his dew-prayer *tal-ten*, a reversed alphabetical acrostic poem, Eliezer ha-Kalir beseeches God to

> "Grant dew to favor thy land . . .
> Restore thy beloved city—with dew"—[243]

an apocalyptic echo of Israel's messianic hope. Between Passover and Shabuot a prayer is offered that "God may preserve the people from injurious dews."[244] The "dew of resurrection" is stored up in Araboth, the highest heaven.[245] By this dew the dead are revived.[246] The Talmud (Hag. 12b) presents an interesting allusion to Ps. 68.10: "A bounteous rain didst thou pour down, O God; when thine inheritance was weary, thou didst confirm it." This biblical verse is applied as an allusion to an incident at the giving of the Torah at Mount Sinai: "When God appeared amidst the trembling of the earth on Sinai, life fled from the people of Israel and from all the living people in the land of Israel; and the angels said: 'Doest Thou desire to give Thy Torah unto the dead or unto the living?' Then God dropped the dew of resurrection upon all, and they revived."[247]

[242] Hag. 12b: עליית טללים רעים וע' אוגלים. In his *Legends* (v. 1, pp. 10, 330 f., 334, 354; v. 3, p. 95 and pertinent notes in vols. 5 and 6), Ginzberg cites numerous passages from both apocalyptic and rabbinic writings bearing on the role of beneficial and injurious dew.

[243] . . . טל תן לרצות ארצך
קומם עיר בה חפצך, בטל. Cf. Isa. 62.4.

[244] Lev. R. 28 with reference to Jer. 5.24.

[245] Hag. 12b. "On the tenth heaven, Arabot, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face." — Enoch 22.1.

[246] Yer. Ber. 5.9b; Yer. Ta'an. 1.63d, with reference to Isa. 26.19.

[247] As to the dew for the purpose of quickening the dead cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, v. 3, p. 95; v. 4, pp. 333, 336 and 360. See also Apocalypse of Baruch 29.7 and 73.2; Enoch 22.9 and cf. Yer. Berakot 5.9b; Ta'an. 1.63d.

That the dew of resurrection played a role in Ezekiel's vision[248] of the dry bones is assumed in Jewish apocalyptic tradition recorded in *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, a remarkable pseudepigraphic Midrash completed in the eighth century.[249] It is justly regarded as one of the most important sources for early Jewish apocalyptic teachings which survive in Jewish literature. It is from this source that some of the Jewish apocalyptic teachings found their way into the Zohar[250] and into other kabbalistic works. In it is recorded an apocalyptic tradition in the name of a contemporary of Rabbi Akiba, in the following words: "Rabbi Joshua ben Korḥa said: There came down upon them the quickening dew from heaven, which was like a fountain, which was bubbling and bringing forth water; so likewise (the bones) were moving and bringing forth upon themselves flesh, and (other) bones and sinews, as it is said, 'And I beheld, and lo, there were sinews upon them, and flesh came up, and *skin* covered them above' (Ezek. 37.8). He said to him: Prophesy unto the wind, as it is said, 'Then said he unto me, Prophesy unto the wind . . . Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe

[248] On the vision in Ezek. 37 see Cant. R. 7.9. On the "resurrection" as a prophetic vision see Maimonides, *Moreh* II, 46. For the talmudic account see Sanh. 95b.

[249] See G. Scholem, *Major Trends*, etc., p. 167. It has been held that some of the material in Pirke R. Eliezer goes back to the *Vita Adae*, a work often regarded as Christian (see Israel Lévi in *REJ*, 1889, v. 18, pp. 86 ff. and his *Le péché original dans les anciennes sources Juives*, Paris, 1907, pp. 24 ff.; A. Epstein in *MWJ*, 1893, v. 20, pp. 252 f.; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden, 1893, pp. 61 ff.). That this is not the case and that Pirke R. Eliezer is not dependent on Christian sources have been convincingly shown by Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern*, pp. 51 ff.; *Legends*, v. 5, pp. 114 ff., and especially in his article "Adam, Book of" in *JE*, I, 179–180. That Pirke R. Eliezer has been influenced by early apocalyptic lore, especially by Jubilees and the Enoch Books, is maintained in Zunz-Albeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–140.

[250] Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

upon these slain, that they may live' (*ibid.* 9). In that hour the four winds of the heaven went forth, and opened the treasure-house of souls, and each spirit returned to the body of flesh of man, as it is said, 'So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived . . .'[251]

This weird imagery of bones reanimated, amplifying the description of the apocalyptic vision in Ezekiel (ch. 37), had a lasting impression upon the Jews, traces of which are already found in IV Maccabees (18.17), a work written just before the Christian era, and in the Odes of Solomon (No. 22 lines 8–10), a Jewish psalm-book composed near the beginning of the Christian era and subsequently worked over by a Christian hand. A permanent place has been given it in the respective liturgies of the Synagogue[252] and of the Church[253] at an early date. A representation of Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of the dry bones is found in a remarkable painting of the scene, dated 556 Seleucid era (=244–5 CE), on the walls of a ruined Synagogue at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates.[254]

[251] Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 33: רבי יהושע בן קרחה אומר ירד עליהם תחיית טל מן השמים שהוא נובע ומוציא מים כך היו נובעים ועולים עליהם בשר ועצמות וגידין שנא' וראיתי והנה עליהם גידים. א"ל הנבא על הרוח באותה שעה יצאו ד' רוחות השמים ופתחו את אוצרות הנשמות והחזיר כל רוח ורוח לגוף בשר איש שנאמר והנבאתי כאשר צוני ותבא בהם הרוח וחיו וכו'.

[252] The first fourteen verses form part of the Haftarah for the Sabbath during the middle days of the Passover festival when the Pentateuchal lesson for the day is taken from Ex. 33.12–34.26 and Numb. 28.19–25. Verses 15–28 comprise the Haftarah for the Sabbath *Wayyigash* when the Pentateuchal lesson for the day is Gen. 44.18–47.27.

[253] In the early Church liturgy the first fourteen verses were especially associated with the ritual of Baptism at Lent and Easter. In some Syriac lectionaries it forms a lesson for Easter Day itself, and verses 15–28 do so for Easter Eve. See F. C. Burkitt, "The Early Syriac Lectionary System" in *Proceedings of The British Academy* 1921–1923, London, 1923, v. 10, pp. 301–338.

[254] See E. L. Sukenik, בית הכנסת של דורא-אברופוס וציוריו, Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 116–136; Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Messianic theme in the paintings of the Dura Synagogue*, Chicago, 1948, pp. 39–46 and the pertinent literature cited by her. See also H. Riesenfeld, *The resur-*

Some of the most distinguished rabbis were so carried away by the attraction of some of the apocalyptic teachings of their day that they introduced them into Jewish thinking. The Mishna described this trend in the form of a characteristic allegory: "Ben Zoma, Akiba, Ben Azzai and Elisha ben Abuyah visited Paradise together. Ben Zoma looked and became demented; to him they applied the verse: 'Hast thou found honey? eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith, and vomit it' (Prov. 25.6). Ben Azzai looked and perished; to him they applied the verse: 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints' (Ps. 116.15). Elisha ben Abuyah plucked up the plants; of him they said: 'Suffer not thy mouth to bring thy flesh into guilt' (Eccl. 5.5). Akiba alone passed through unscathed; of him they said: 'Draw me, we will run after thee' (Cant. 1.4)."[255] This story, in all likelihood, has reference to the mystical trends which were inspired by the apocalyptic writers of the period. Even the common people were easily attracted by the apocalyptic appeals and swelled the ranks of those who were swayed by such appeals.

Foreign Influences

It is true that the apocalyptic writings contain elements which, for one reason or another, have at times been repugnant to Judaism. They were not always accepted by

rection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos paintings, Uppsala, 1948. Representations of the vision of the dry bones in early Christian art are described in W. Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis z. Ende d. XII Jahrhunderts*, Münster, 1912. The fresco Ezekiel and the Vision of the Dry Bones in the Dura Synagogue shows that Jewish apocalyptic ideas found their way in ecclesiastical art at an early date. See Jacob Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art*, London, 1944, p. 22 ff.

[255] Hag. 14b; Yer. Hag. 2.1; Tosefta Hag. 2.3 ed. Zuckermandel, p. 234.

Jews. Perhaps the chief cause for their rejection was that such elements had originally crept into Jewish apocalyptic thought from foreign sources.[256] Yet when one examines the influence of Persian or Babylonian ideas upon Jewish apocalyptic thought, one must remember that these ideas were working on a basis of Hebrew ideas that goes back to the very beginning of Hebrew literature.[257] One must also bear in mind the fact that Jews have always had a genius for assimilating foreign ideas, and yet impressing upon them their own individuality. There is plenty of individuality and independence of thought among the Jewish apocalyptic writers. It cannot be overlooked that the apocalyptic writers, though not entirely at home in rabbinical theology, expressed ideas wholly within the sphere of Judaism, in spite of their apparent incompatibility with the more widely accepted rabbinical teachings. This was notwithstanding the ultimate extension of their influence, when they were later taken into other regions of the religious world. They represent one type of Jewish thought and belief prevalent in their age and for this reason they deserve consideration even if they are not to be given a primary place.

It is widely recognized that a considerable part of the early apocalyptic writings is much more similar to some elements at least in Pharisaic teachings than to any ideas

[256] On Assyro-Babylonian and other influences see K. Kohler, *The Origins of the Synagogue*, etc., pp. 170 ff. It has often been suggested that foreign ideas found their way into Jewish apocalyptic writings. Whether or not this is so has not yet been established with any measure of reasonable certainty. It is an interesting subject meriting a searching investigation. However, it is generally recognized that "indirect pagan influences entered mainly through the compositions of eschatologists, who swarmed in Jewry during the period which began with Daniel and Enoch and which ended with the Apocalypse and IV Esdras."—W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age*, etc., p. 287. Cf. H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1905.

[257] See H. H. Rowley, *Relevance*, etc., pp. 40, 54 and 66.

recognizable as Sadducean or Essene. On various occasions, Kohler maintained that it is impossible to form a correct estimate of the historical position and development of rabbinical Judaism and its relations to Christianity without taking into consideration the whole of the Jewish apocalyptic literature.[258] He was indulging in exaggeration in his contention that "the whole field of Hellenistic writings and the immense number of apocryphal books which cast a flood of light upon the pre-Christian centuries of Jewish history have been altogether neglected by the Jewish student, and the consequence is that the whole point of view from which Jewish history and literature have been written by Jewish authors is narrow, one-sided and often altogether false."[259] As a matter of fact scholars have not altogether neglected either the Hellenistic writings or the apocryphal books, but many of them have shown too ready a disposition to declare everything of durable value in Jewish theological doctrine to be rabbinic in origin. Kohler, however, was right in stressing the importance of the role played in Judaism by the Hellenistic writings as well as by the apocryphal literature. Indeed, one cannot follow the various stages of development in early Judaism without taking full cognizance of the pertinent elements

[258] See especially his "The Essenes and the Apocalyptic Literature" in the *JQR*, 1920, N. S., v. 11, pp. 145–168, reprinted in his *Studies, Addresses and Personal Papers*, New York, 1931, pp. 20–36 and his *The Origins of the Synagogue*, etc., pp. 170–199.

[259] *Hebrew Union College and Other Addresses*, Cincinnati, 1916, p. 22. Elsewhere (*Hebrew Union College Catalogue*, Cincinnati, May, 1906, p. 14) Kohler expressed the opinion that "the deplorable neglect of [apocalyptic literature] by the Jewish scholar has been the cause of radical errors in tracing of Jewish history and literature and in the estimate of rabbinical Judaism. A study of these works . . . opens a wide field of labor for the Jewish scholar, who can not help seeing that Alexandrian and Palestinian Judaism greatly influenced each other for centuries. Without familiarity with . . . Apocalyptic literature, no historical perception of the Talmudic and pre-Talmudic development, and still less of the New Testament, . . . is possible."

in the apocalyptic writings as well as in those of the early rabbis. Moreover, the theological lore of the rabbis can not be satisfactorily exploited for such purpose unless the bearings cast upon it by Jewish apocalyptic writers, are fully explored.

Ginzberg has even ventured the opinion—and in this he is correct—"that apocalyptic Judaism or apocalyptic Pharisaism was neither the Judaism of the time of Jesus nor the religious atmosphere which the latter and his disciples breathed."[260] While this, no doubt, holds true of the Judaism of the time of Jesus and the period of apostolic Christianity, it does not hold equally true of the manifestations of religious ideas in later stages of the development of Judaism. For apocalyptic ideas of an early date reappear ever-so-often in the religious lore and literature of the Jews; they are abundantly scattered in the kabbalistic writings of the Middle Ages. Many an eschatological idea familiar from early apocalyptic writings has penetrated the Jewish religious teachings everywhere. In some measure the eschatological passages in the Talmud and Midrash really represent a continuation of the old stream of apocalyptic thought often with the admixture of extraneous elements picked up, here and there, as was inevitable, by the course of the stream of Judaism through many centuries and many lands—elements the commingling of which must have, in many ways, transformed the original color and nature of the stream. It is incorrect to assume that Judaism, at any given time, threw off completely the apocalyptic elements as active factors in its teachings and depended largely if not exclusively upon other elements. Not only does one meet with apocalyptic elements in the Talmud and Midrash but one finds that the mystics in Judaism, those who indulged in kabbalistic speculation, have also retained many apocalyptic teachings and pre-

[260] *Students, Scholars*, etc., p. 91.

served in their writings many an apocalyptic passage, often an excerpt from an early apocalyptic work no longer extant. At no time did they look upon themselves as separated from the stream of Judaism by their preoccupation with deeper insight into mystical matters.[261] In fact, kabbalistic Judaism practically never felt itself out of line with the traditions of Judaism. Although it retained, and even enlarged upon much of the lore of the early Jewish apocalyptic writers, it never became one-sidedly transcendentalist.

Apocalyptic Lore in the Zohar

The Zohar, the most important literary work of the Kabbalah, is unquestionably one of the richest sources of apocalyptic lore. G. Scholem rejects "the theory that 'primitive' sources and documents have been preserved in the Zohar, although admittedly in revised form is today widespread".[262] Nevertheless, if this theory could be sustained, it would presuppose that many of the sources and documents mentioned in connection with it refer to early apocalyptic writings,[263] in addition to other literary expressions of the creative folk spirit. Notwithstanding Scholem's arguments to the contrary, it can definitely be taken for granted that the strongly apocalyptic tendencies

[261] See H. Odeberg, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Cf. J. Abelson, *The immanence of God in rabbinical literature*, London, 1912.

[262] G. Scholem, *Zohar*, New York, 1949, p. 13.

[263] It is not unlikely that בספרין קדמאין אשכחנא in the *Zohar* (1.34b) is a reference to ancient apocalyptic works which also included such a work as ספרא דאגדתא mentioned in the Talmud (Ber. 23a). The extant apocalyptic writings yield sufficient evidence to show that the "mystic lore" alluded to in Talmud and Midrash (cf. Zunz-Albeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–74) is not only presented systematically in the older apocalyptic writings, but is exploited fully and advantageously in the *Zohar* and in other kabbalistic works. See D. H. Joel, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Sohar*, etc., Leipzig, 1849, pp. 45–54.

of the Zohar are surely derived from sources much older than those which are now identifiable as the strata underlying the make-up of the text of the Zohar as it is now extant. The apocalyptic ideas in the Zohar have all the characteristic features of many of the ideas in early apocalyptical writings. These ideas were not born in the twelfth or thirteenth century of the Christian era, the period in which the authorship of the Zohar is now generally placed.[264] The apocalyptic works, like the Book of Enoch and the Apocalypse of Ezra, undoubtedly contain elements of Jewish mystical religion. There is an affinity between them and the Zohar. "Their influence on the subsequent development of Jewish mysticism cannot be overlooked."[265] There is need for a searching study of the historic lineage of those elements. Such a study, if properly carried out, is bound to carry them back to the first two pre-Christian centuries if not to an earlier date.

Scholem admits that the "mystical sources [of the Zohar] were by no means forgotten tomes and apocrypha from obscure countries."[266] Indeed, it can safely be assumed, as Scholem does, that "the mystical literature which the author of the Zohar may have read consisted, to a considerable extent, of earlier pseudepigrapha."[267] Every now and then medieval Hebrew texts reveal traces of the use by their authors and by others, of Jewish apocryphal works in possession of their Christian contemporaries. Moses ben Nahman himself testifies to the fact that he resorted to the use of Jewish apocryphal books current in his day in their Syriac versions. Adolf Neubauer has shown that "the Syriac version of the Apocrypha, transcribed in Hebrew characters was known among the Jews

[264] In its present form the *Zohar* is a product of the latter part of the thirteenth century.

[265] G. Scholem, *Major Trends*, etc., p. 39.

[266] *The Zohar*, p. 16. [267] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

in Spain"[268] though Professor Alexander Marx[269] who brought together an impressive number of Syriac passages from the writings of Moses ben Nahman and from other kabbalistic works which lend support to this statement, is inclined to view this claim as "sweeping." Yet, he declares without any hesitation that "there is evidence that some of the books at least were current in Spain in the 12th and 13th centuries in Syriac texts transcribed into Hebrew characters."[270] Moses ben Nahman was not the only Jew in his day or in earlier days who had similar and other opportunities to become familiar with the contents of Jewish apocalyptic writings then current among their Christian neighbors.[271] The apocalyptic lore that the kabbalists thus obtained made a profound impression upon their minds. Through these kabbalists apocalyptic ideas ultimately found their way into the circles in which the literature of the Zohar was born. Whether or not the Zohar is a work of composite or individual authorship is immaterial for the purpose of this study; it is in all likelihood a work that grew anonymously in the course of time and, like some of the early Jewish apocalyptic books, was attributed to one or another of the kabbalistic saints. What is important for this study is the recognition of the fact that in its pages one meets with many apocalyptic teachings the origin of which can readily be traced to pre-Christian doctrines in Palestinian Judaism.

Jewish religious practice, governed largely by the Halakah, obviously bases its authority upon the writings of

[268] See his edition of *The Book of Tobit*, Oxford, 1878, p. XIV.

[269] See his "An Aramaic Fragment of the Wisdom of Solomon" in *JBL*, 1921, v. 40, pp. 57–69.

[270] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[271] Joseph ibn Aknin in his commentary on Song of Songs reports that Hai Gaon had sent Maṣliaḥ ben El-Basak to inquire from the Catholicos how Ps. 141.5 is rendered in his copy of the Syriac Bible. See A. Marx, *ibid.*, p. 57, note 1.

the rabbis, which in turn find support in Scriptures. On the other hand, the system of Jewish beliefs draws on all the Jewish spiritual teachings as transmitted in both the written and the oral Law. So eminent an authority as Ginzberg has aptly declared that "the Halakah and the Haggadah are not contrasts but necessary complements to one another."[272] Yet a goodly measure of the lore of the apocalyptic writers became deeply rooted in some of the most cherished Jewish beliefs, especially those of an eschatological nature, so much so that, as already shown,[273] the liturgy of Judaism has absorbed a considerable amount of what is distinctly apocalyptic in character which can easily be traced to early apocalyptic writings.[274] Moreover, Ginzberg[275] draws attention to the existence in rabbinical literature of a curious "little" apocalypse probably a quotation from a larger work no longer extant. It reads: "Four thousand two hundred and ninety years after 'creation' the world will become orphaned;[276] the wars of the dragons[277] will then take place as well as the wars of Gog and Magog, and after these events the days of the Messiah, but the renewal of the world by God will take place after seven thousand years."[278]

[272] See his *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[273] See above pp. 62 ff., and below note 274.

[274] On the role of apocalyptic ideas in the early liturgy of the Synagogue see I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, etc., Leipzig, 1913, p. 33; S. S. Tedesche, "Prayers of the Apocrypha and their importance in the Study of Jewish liturgy" in *Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook*, 1916, v. 26, pp. 376–398. Cf. also N. B. Johnson, *Prayer in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, Philadelphia, 1948, and S. Zeitlin's review of the latter in *JQR*, 1949, v. 40, pp. 201–203.

[275] *JBL*, 1922, v. 41, p. 119.

[276] "I. E. there will be no pious and good men left; comp. Mekilta, B. 16, 18b f. and parallel passages given by Friedmann." — L. Ginzberg.

[277] תנינים, a mythological eschatological word!

[278] לאחר ד' אלפים ומאתים ותשעים (ושלשים) ואחד שנה לבריאתו של עולם העולם יתום מהן מלחמת תנינים מהן מלחמת גוג ומגוג והשאר ימות המשיח. The Talmud

Eschatological Ideas of Divine Judgment

The eschatological ideas of divine judgment and retribution which abound in Jewish liturgical texts are an almost necessary complement to the halakic aspects of Judaism. If it be conceived, as has been the case, as a system of commandments imposed by supernatural authority, Judaism must have as a motive for obedience a system of supernatural rewards and punishments. This was so, especially in the active period of the apocalyptic writers because for centuries the practices of the scribes had actually had their corresponding development of apocalypse, with visions of great judgment and of the Day of God, but because of an inherent and necessary affinity between them; Palestine continued to be the home of 'prophecy' in early Christian days as well. In the apocalyptic lore of the Jews the conduct of every individual is subjected to celestial judgment. Mention is made in the Bible[279] of a book which is used by God as a sort of muster-roll in which those who are worthy of it are inscribed for life. Those who, because of sin are rendered unworthy of it, have their names erased from the book. The idea of a heavenly Book of Life found expression in the apocalyptic writings. The Book of Jubilees[280] refers to two heavenly

(Sanh. 97b) quotes this from a scroll "written in Assyrian (=square) script and in the Hebrew language," which a Jewish soldier is said to have found about 300 CE, in the archives of Rome. With the aid of this quotation S. Zeitlin (*JQR*, 1947, v. 38, p. 36) was able to show that the scroll referred to "was undoubtedly The Assumption of Moses" and to assert "that this book was composed in the year 140 CE." For other passages in the Talmud which have their origin in early apocalyptic writings, see Israel Lévi, "Apocalypses dans le Talmud," *REJ*, 1880, v. 1, pp. 108–114.

[279] Ex. 32.32–38. There are other references in Scripture to the existence of such a book, see, e. g., Isa. 4.3; Mal. 3.16; Ps. 69.28. Cf. Ps. 139.16 and Dan. 12.1 ff.

[280] Ch. 30.20–22.

books: a Book of Life for the righteous and a Book of Death for those who walk in the path of impurity and are written down on the heavenly tablets as adversaries of God. Moreover, one who contrives evil against his neighbor will be blotted out of the Book of Remembrance of men, and will not be entered in the Book of Life but in the Book of Perdition.[281] "The Ancient of Days" is described as seated upon his throne of glory with "the Book" or "the Book of Life" ("of the Living") opened before him.[282] Thus are the righteous "written before [i. e., in the presence of] the glory of the Great One," and the transgressors "blotted out of the Book of Life and out of the books of the holy ones."[283]

The apocalyptic writers were inclined to give the Book of Life an eschatological meaning. So, too, some of the rabbis[284] were so inclined. On the other hand the tradition and the liturgy of the Synagogue endeavored to give a new meaning to the Book of Life. Their view characterizing them is that the great Day of Judgment is not to be looked to, in the hereafter, as is done in the Book of Enoch and the Testament of Abraham, but is to be regarded as an annual event. On the first day of the year God sits in judgment over his creatures and has the Book of Life and Death opened before him together with the records of the conduct of the righteous and the unrighteous.[285] A vivid description of this heavenly scene is furnished in the familiar *Une'taneh Tokef* prayer incorporated in the liturgy of the

[281] Ch. 36.10.

[282] Dan. 7.10 and Enoch 47.3 שיר הכבוד.

[283] Enoch 104.1; 108.3. Books of Records are also alluded to in Enoch 81.4; 89.61–77; 90.17–20; 98.76; 104.7; Apocalypse of Baruch 24.1 and Ascension of Isaiah 9.20.

[284] See e. g., Targ. Jonathan to Isa. 4.3; Ezek. 13.9 and Targ. Yer. to Ex. 32.32.

[285] See rabbinical commentaries on the Scriptural passages referred to. Cf. K. Kohler in *JE*, III, p. 313.

New Year and the Day of Atonement. Though of a late date, this prayer drew abundantly upon the resources of Jewish apocalyptic lore.[286]

While it met with relatively little success, a determined effort to discourage apocalyptic tendencies in Judaism evidently began at an early day. It is true, as Zeitlin has pointed out, that the Pharisees in their day struggled against the apocalyptic writers and their influence and considered some of them as "false prophets."[287] "The precepts of the Torah were not their main principles. The Apocalyptists laid more stress on ethics and faith."[288]

Moreover, many of the so-called Minor Midrashim and a large portion of the literature of the Kabbalah, products of the Middle Ages, have transmitted numerous apocalyptic ideas originating not in early rabbinical literature but rather in the early apocalyptic writings. To be sure there are no direct quotations from the apocalyptic texts in the literature of normative Judaism i. e., the Talmud and Midrash. But one finds many allusions to their teachings and reminiscences of them recalling the phraseology of definite passages in the apocalyptic texts. They occur too often for all of them to be merely coincidences. In both thought and language the early rabbinic writings appear to have received an impress from the Jewish apocryphal, especially the apocalyptic, writings. The similarity of ideas is often too close to be merely accidental.[289] It is true that most of the so-called apocalyptic passages in the Talmud and Midrash deal with such subjects as the fall

[286] See I. Davidson, אוצר השירה והפיוט, New York, 1929, v. 2, pp. 199 f.

[287] See S. Zeitlin, "The Assumption of Moses and the Revolt of Bar Kokba" in *JQR*, 1947, v. 38, pp. 1–45.

[288] See *ibid.*, *JQR*, 1950, v. 40, p. 239.

[289] The expression שערי תפילה "gates of prayer" and the idea it conveys which appears frequently in the Talmud (see e. g., Ber. 32b) and in the liturgy of the Synagogue are first met with in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (5th heaven).

of Jerusalem, with the days of the messiah and with the events at the end of the age (באחרית הימים). It is surprising with what regularity apocalyptic ideas are apportioned among a variety of authors, and always on the ground of some harmony of ideas. The strictly logical integration of the elements into a whole is not characteristic of the apocalyptic passages in Talmud and Midrash and is not to be sought there.

Taking all this into consideration one finds it rather difficult to accept the contention that Rabbinical Judaism ignored or dropped apocalyptic writings, and did so at an early date. This view is held by several scholars including Ginzberg. It is with diffidence that one ventures to disagree with so renowned a master of both the apocalyptic and the rabbinic literature and lore as Ginzberg. Yet the evidence is so strongly in favor of a contrary opinion that one is compelled to maintain this view as entirely untenable. The mere fact that, with the exception of the Book of Daniel, no Jewish apocalyptic work found a place in the body of Hebrew Scriptures does little to sustain the argument for rejection. It is remarkable that nowhere in the early rabbinic texts is hostility shown to any of the apocalyptic writings, such as there is, let us say, to the Gospels or to other Christian books.[290] The presence of a book in, or its absence from, the collection of Hebrew Scriptures did not necessarily determine the degree of popularity it enjoyed or the influence it exercised or the authority it exerted in the religious life of the Jews. For that matter, except for the altogether too few and too vague passages in the talmudic literature often considered in connection with any discussion of the canon of the Bible, very little is known of the procedures employed in fixing the collection of the Hebrew Scriptures. The in-

[290] See e. g., Shab. 116a.

formation now extant on this question is so scanty that our knowledge of the matter is almost nil.[291] It is very doubtful whether there ever was a formal canonization of books of the Hebrew Bible by any competent authority. The books now comprising the Hebrew Bible gradually gained universal acceptance and became the Scriptures in Judaism. In the recorded disputes of the rabbis on the merits or demerits of various books of the Hebrew Bible one is able to see to some degree the process of canonization in operation. The Scripture books that were studied in the schools and read in the Synagogues on Sabbath, festive and fast days as well as on other occasions,[292] were regarded as God-given; their authors were considered divinely inspired, divine authority residing in their every word. Not so with the other books, among which were those, whose authors while pretending Scriptural authority, sometimes disseminated doctrines at variance with accepted belief and tradition. They were therefore considered subversive of the foundations of Judaism. They included a variety of works among which were, in addition to the Gospels, also some by the apocalyptic writers which professed to present accurate knowledge as to the end of days. "Moreover, they advanced opinions or practices of rites and customs at variance with the standards of the community at large and the teachings of its recognized authorities."[293]

[291] See, however, S. Zeitlin, *An historical study of the canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*, New York, 1932.

[292] The early Church adopted from the Synagogue the custom of reading at divine service Scripture lessons of apocalyptic or messianic character. See Tanh., *Waera*, ed. Buber, p. 4; Baruch 1.3; Apocalypse of Baruch 78.

[293] See George Foot Moore, "The definition of the Jewish Canon and the repudiation of Christian Scriptures", in *Essays in Modern Theology and Related Subjects* gathered . . . as a testimonial to Charles Augustus Briggs, New York, 1911, pp. 99–125.

The Canon of Hebrew Scriptures

Hebrew literature offers no designation for the term canon as applied to the Hebrew Scriptures.[294] The references in early rabbinical literature to the "exclusion" or "inclusion" of certain books have nothing to do with an alleged canon of Hebrew Scriptures. They merely refer to the use of these books for liturgical or instructional purposes.[295] Nor does early Jewish literature present any historical account of the process of formation of the collection of Hebrew Scriptural books. Except for the legendary allusions in II Maccabees 2.13–15 and in the Apocalypse of Ezra 14.19–48 there is no dependable testimony from antiquity. Moses Gaster was undoubtedly right in asserting that "the idea of the Canon and, in consequence, the idea of books not forming part of that Canon, belongs exclusively to the Church and not to the Synagogue."[296] The Hebrew canon i. e., the fixed collection of Hebrew

[294] The term ספרי קדש="Sacred Scriptures" as applied to biblical books is found neither in the Talmud nor in the Midrash. It appears first in the mediaeval Hebrew writings.

[295] Rabbi Akiba is said to have voiced strong opposition to apocryphal books. He did not, however, object to the private reading of such books as is evident from the fact that he himself made frequent use of Ecclesiasticus (see W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, Strassburg, 1903, v. 1, p. 277 and H. Graetz, *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*, Krotoschin, 1846, p. 120). He stoutly defended the presence in the Hebrew Scriptures of the Song of Songs and Esther (see Yad. 3.5; Meg. 7a). Cf. Sanh. 10.1 where the term ספרים חצונים refers to books excluded from liturgical or instructional use; Sanh. 100b and Yer. Sanh. X.28a in which passage, according to Ginzberg, קורא is to be explained according to Kid. 49a and חצונים according to its Aramaic equivalent ברייתא; so that R. Akiba's statement reads: "He who reads *aloud* in the Synagogue from apocryphal books as if they were Scriptural" etc. I have elsewhere dealt with ספרים חצונים showing that the term as employed by R. Akiba refers not to the apocalyptic works, but to the Christian books in the hands of the early Jewish Christians whose exclusion from the Jewish community was brought about in his day.

[296] See his *Studies and Texts*, etc., v. 1, p. 280.

Scriptures as an inheritance from the past, was in the main an accomplished fact long before there took place the so-called rabbinical discussions of the character of certain biblical books.[297] Frants Buhl[298] has shown that the collection of books comprising the Hebrew Bible was already in existence prior to the destruction of the Temple, and that even the group of books known as the Hagiographa was already in a finally fixed state before the first century. The collection of Hebrew Scriptures as such acquired, gradually, and through usage only, a recognized authoritative position. The rabbis do not seem to have been so much concerned with fixing the number of books comprising the Scriptural collection as with providing regulations designed to preserve the integrity of its text and teaching.[299]

It is often claimed that the Jewish apocalyptic books, except the Book of Daniel, were denied a place in the Scriptural Canon. No convincing proof from any authoritative source has thus far been adduced in support of this view. Yet scholars have not hesitated to offer various reasons for it. The latest reason thus advanced is by Zeitlin, who is of the opinion that the apocalyptic books were not recognized as canonical largely because their teachings were not altogether in harmony with the spirit and objectives of normative Judaism.[300] The fear that they might tend to obscure the pure light of Judaism often led to complete readiness to disregard the wealth of lore which they contained. A like fear has often been advanced as a valid reason against the use of the literature of the Kabbalah in any attempt to offer a trustworthy elucidation of Judaism and its teachings. Perhaps, however, no other

[297] See e. g., B. B. 14b.

[298] See his *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, Edinburgh, 1892, pp. 25 ff.

[299] See Abot 1.1.

[300] S. Zeitlin in *JQR*, 1950, v. 40, p. 239.

reason need be sought than that they appeared too late in time to gain for themselves a place in the collection of Hebrew Scriptures, which was already regarded as virtually, if not finally, closed.[301] As for the Book of Daniel its place in the Hebrew Bible was already assured long before the destruction of Jerusalem.[302] The apocalyptic writings represent the teachings and aspirations expressive of a type of Jewish thought and belief prevalent in the period between the close of the Hebrew Bible and the commitment of the Mishna to writing. They deserve to be studied for this reason alone, even if there were no other. After all, they do reveal marked affinities with other expressions of Jewish thought.

Among the numerous Scriptural books which did not gain a place in the Hebrew Bible were the works of Ben Sira, Ben La'anah, the apocalyptic texts and others of a kindred nature. They are not necessarily regarded as profane or secular books; they were considered 'Scriptural' even though they did not play the same role in Judaism as the books of the Hebrew Bible, which acquired their 'sanctity' because they formed the basis for authoritative religious instruction and belief. Since it was suspected that their contents were not always of the authentic Jewish grain, those books which in a later age became known as apocrypha and pseudepigrapha and which include most of the now extant apocalyptic writings fell rapidly into disuse.[303] Fear in later days that, in the course of time these works might assume a position equal to that held by

[301] See R. T. Herford, *Pharisees*, p. 193.

[302] F. C. Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, p. 11.

[303] The reason that the Book of Daniel found a place in the Hebrew Bible was that the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, which was among the issues on which Pharisees and Sadducees were divided, was derived from it. See M. L. Margolis, *The Hebrew Scriptures*, etc., pp. 90 f.

the now recognized biblical books prompted some of the early rabbis to discourage their reading. This hostility unhappily led to the neglect in Judaism of a valuable branch of semi-sacred literature.

It is true that the books of the Pentateuch, the Torah, were always accepted in Jewish tradition as of Mosaic authorship; they were therefore, so to speak, canonically authoritative. Containing 'words of tradition' (דברי קבלה)[304] the other books of the Hebrew Bible were, at an early date, likewise accepted as vested with traditional dignity; they originally comprised in addition to the works of the Scriptural prophets "the sacred writings of the inspired sages and seers,"[305] which no doubt also included apocalyptic works. At an early date in their history, however, the rabbis extended the term Torah beyond the five books of Moses and thus gave 'canonical' standing, as it were, also to the non-pentateuchal books in the Hebrew Bible. In their effort to build the religion of Israel exclusively around the Torah, the early rabbis resisted every other influence as inimical to Judaism. Numerous as were the other Jewish religious writings, especially the apocalyptic, they evidently did not affect vitally the thought of the rabbinic expounders of the Faith of Israel. However, it is not altogether unlikely that the apocalyptic writings had a particular appeal to other Jews, especially to the populace

[304] The term Kabbala was originally applied to the entire traditional lore of the Jews except the written law (תורה). It includes all other Scriptural books which were supposed to have been "received" by the power of the Holy Spirit rather than as writings from God's hand. See Ta'an. 2.1; R. H. 7a, 19a and elsewhere in the Talmud. Cf. Zunz-Albeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

[305] See J. Z. Lauterbach, "The Pharisees and their Teachings" in *HUCA*, Cincinnati, 1929, v. 6, p. 102. Cf. Zebi Hirsch Chajes, מאמר תורת נביאים או דברי קבלה, Zolkiew, 1836, ס' תורת נביאים. For an example of the use of the term קבלה in the sense of tradition see *Abot de R. Nathan*, ed. Schechter, rec. B § 42, p. 59a.

in the Northern regions of Palestine, those who were often spoken of as the Galilean *'Am ha-aretz.* They also left their impression upon the Jews in the dispersion and particularly upon the mixed population in the Hellenistic cities which had been only partially converted to Judaism. It is in these communities—centers of Hellenistic dispersion—that great interest was shown in the teachings of the Apocalypses and Testaments, the Assumptions and the Ascensions. The doctrines of mediating angels, heavenly journeys and other theosophical speculations contained in apocalyptical writings, were gradually gaining acceptance in these communities. It is true that these speculations made only a small impress on rabbinical theology; it is equally true that traces of them are fairly abundant in rabbinical lore and in Jewish liturgy.

The Pharisees regarded themselves as the spiritual heirs of the scribes and priest-prophets. They stood for the development of Jewish tradition on its own lines but deriving its authority from Torah; they also stood for separation from all denationalizing influences. "Positively they were the upholders and expanders of the tradition and negatively they were the opponents of alien ideas."[306] They formulated a system of Jewish religious life rooted in the observance of the teachings of Torah. Continually developing this system in order to meet new needs and new thought, they took care that no admixture of non-Jewish conceptions should enter it. They often detected such conceptions in the ideas prevailing in Hellenistic civilization. They looked with suspicion upon such matters as visions about the celestial kingdom, although these are already found in Ezekiel and in several of the later prophets, as well as in Daniel, the one fully-developed example of apocalypse in the Hebrew Bible. These as well as the teachings about

[306] N. Bentwich, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

angels, the topography of the heavenly world, and the pseudo-prophetic visions of past events, so abundant in the apocalyptic writings of their day, had begun to find their way into Jewish thought long before it came in contact with the ideas of Hellenistic civilization; but they were not fully acceptable to the Pharisees. They were suspicious of their inherent religious value and regarded them as inimical to the welfare of Judaism. They did not think that books which contain such ideas were worthy of a place in the authoritative writings of the Jews. The Pharisees therefore exerted every effort to put the finishing touches to the collection of Hebrew Scriptures by narrowing down the compass of the 'Writings' so as not to admit into them works which failed to measure up to their standards. Thus they became responsible for the disappearance of apocalyptic books current in their day, from the body of authoritative Jewish writings. Nevertheless some of the ideas these books contained gained a place in the vast rabbinic and kabbalistic lore.

It is certain, however, that the Scripture known to Jesus and his apostles, as to all their contemporary Jews in Palestine, was the collection of biblical books then current in Hebrew and Aramaic. They ultimately found their way into the religious life and lore of the Christian world, through the old Greek translation, which in a later day was appropriated by the Church. All the books comprising the Hebrew Scriptures in their early Greek recensions go back to Semitic originals i. e. Hebrew and Aramaic texts. The fact that some of the originals are no longer in the Jewish collection of Scriptures and that others have altogether disappeared from Hebrew literature presents an interesting subject for investigation with which scholars have endeavored to deal but have thus far not been unanimous in their conclusions.

Sectarian Origin of Apocalyptic Writings

Some of the apocalyptic writings are of sectarian origin, and tended more or less to promote sectarian notions and interests.[307] Others, without partisan leanings, fostered, instead, popular superstitions and fanaticisms; these were the work of authors, who in the eyes of some of their learned contemporaries, were uneducated. These writings were intensely colored by the historical circumstances of the time and place in which they first saw the light. It is not surprising, therefore, that they found little favor at any time in the eyes of some of the leading rabbis, and that since the second century they have been almost completely sidetracked in Judaism. There can be no doubt, however, that there was a time when the apocalyptic writings had a great vogue in certain circles or strata of Jewish society, and that they also represented beliefs once widely current among the people. The contents of some of them evidently were transmitted for centuries by underground channels, to rise again on the surface in medieval Jewish literature. "They make their appearance under disguise, betraying sufficiently their origin by their bewildering contents as well as by their anachronisms. They were admitted into the Synagogue only under protest, so to speak. The authorities seem to have been baffled, some disowning them, whilst others are overawed by their very strangeness and apologize for their existence, or, reinterpret them."[308] It is true, their uninterrupted and lasting influence and their chief importance

[307] Bousset, Charles, Schuerer and others maintain that they were written by Pharisees. Kohler argued for Essene authorship while R. T. Herford (see his *Pharisees*, p. 188) suggested Zealots as their authors — a view which, under the influence of S. Zeitlin's criticism, he later abandoned (see his *Talmud and Apocrypha*, London, 1933, p. 193). R. Leszynsky, (*Die Sadduzäer*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 168 ff.) attributes some apocalyptic books to Sadducees.

[308] S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, Preface, p. IX.

were for a long time largely in Christianity, but evidently not always altogether absent in Judaism.

The early apocalyptic writings furnish considerable source material for the reconstruction of the Jewish religious ideas and practices of about three hundred years —the two centuries that immediately preceded the rise of Christianity and the one that followed it. They also help explain certain movements in the Jewry of that day, indicating in turn that these already embodied transformations and developments of tendencies at work in the days of the prophets. They contribute to the understanding of the development of Jewish thought in a period of which, after all, relatively little is known. They bridge an almost complete gap in the literature of the Jewish people. In a measure the apocalyptic books of that day take the place of, or at least continue, the writings of the prophets. The Psalmist (74.9) exclaims with grief:

"We see not our signs;
There is no more any prophet;
Neither is there among us any that knoweth how long."

The apocalyptic writings were filled with fancies and figures that usually appeal to the uninstructed imagination with its love of the fantastic and the mysterious. The apocalyptic writers predicted the sudden intervention of God and the role supernatural forces would play in the redemption and the bringing about of the purgation of this world or even of its overthrow and replacement by new heavens and a new earth.[309] These predictions were like promises—which of course were never kept. The immediate effect of such promises may have been exhilara-

[309] When R. H. Charles (in *A Critical history*, etc., p. 179) endeavored to show that "the Christian expectation of a new heaven and a new earth is derived not from prophecy but from apocalyptic," he completely overlooked the fact that it was the prophet Isaiah (65.17 and 66.22) who spoke first of שמים חדשים וארץ חדשה.

tion, but it left behind it despair of all human means for establishing the kingdom of God on earth. The responsibility for the future of the world rested upon God. There was an anxious longing for God to intervene; yet the slow waiting for his purpose to be fulfilled may have aroused some disbelief and even a great deal of despair. All this finds an expression in the apocalyptic writings. It was only natural it should do so, but this does not alter the general character of this literature. Sentiments such as the apocalyptic writers convey could only have been voiced by men in the Jewish community who were removed from the sphere of political endeavor. It was then that a quiet concentration upon the Torah supplied the spiritual need of the Jews. This explanation is offered by F. C. Burkitt.[310] It is not satisfying. Even though the Jews became immersed in the Torah and derived a measure of spiritual consolation from it they did not abandon their hope of an age to come. However, it cannot be denied that rabbinical sages ceased to feel the same interest in the details of the picture that the apocalyptic writers had felt. They became concerned more with matters of religious conduct than with those of belief and hope. Rabbinical Judaism occupied itself largely with matters which tended to assure the preservation of Jewish religious life rather than with the effort to gauge the destiny of the Jewish people. This does not warrant the assumption that Judaism turned its back on the apocalyptic ideas which had so rapidly penetrated Jewish life and thought and which, together with some of the promises of the prophets, held out hope for a better day. Nor does it give reason to regard the apocalyptic writings as a sort of heretical backwater of Judaism, as some scholars seem to think. Claude G. Montefiore[311]

[310] *Op. cit.*, pp. 5 f.

[311] See his *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated*

once maintained "that the apocalyptic writings lie for the most part outside the line of the purest Jewish development, and often present but the fringe of excrescence, and not the real substance of the dominating religious thought." This is certainly a somewhat harsh judgment of a body of literature which Montefiore, more than thirty years later came to regard as not without great spiritual value.[312] Schechter[313] was hardly justified in maintaining that "these represent the chaff, an inevitable growth in the field of religion. Now and then a grain of truth may be detected in it, but as a rule the chaff serves more often to hide the grain of truth from sight." While arguing that they "were a product, not of the Synagogue, but of the various sects hovering on the borderland of Judaism," he could not help admitting that "they may have left some mark" on Judaism "by a few stray passages finding their way even into the older Rabbinic literature." Once this fact is recognized, no matter how reluctantly, it admits of the relevance of the apocalyptic writings for the adequate understanding of the origins of Jewish religious teachings.

But these writings were not merely a wayward trickle. The absence of any explicit sectarian tendency in them points to their having arisen out of the mainstream of Jewish life.[314] Recognition of this fact helps in the filling in of what has until now seemed to be an inexplicable period of silence in early Hebrew literary endeavor. Except for such portions of Hebrew Scriptures as the Book of Daniel and the Maccabean psalms, virtually no other Hebrew products of the second century BCE are extant. It is inconceivable that this period in the Judaism of

by the religion of the ancient Hebrews, London, 1892 (The Hibbert Lectures), p. 467.

[312] See his Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture on *IV Ezra; a study in the development of universalism*, London, 1929.

[313] *Op. cit.*, p. IX.

[314] F. C. Porter in *JR*, 1927, v. 7, pp. 41–44.

Palestine,—which, no doubt, was the mainstream of the Jewish faith,—was devoid of genuine Hebrew literary creativity. This period represents the years which united the era of the completion of the Hebrew Bible with that of the development of the Oral Law, corresponding to the period which, in Christian theological literature, is often roughly spoken of as the intertestamental period. Is it credible that such a period in the Judaism of Palestine could possibly have been barren of literary offspring? The assumption that the apocalyptic teachers within Judaism belonged then to a particular party is not well founded. Kohler has often endeavored to identify some of their ideas with the teachings of the Essenes. He[315] firmly believed that the apocalyptic writings emanated from hasidic circles which faithfully preserved all angelologic and demonologic lore. This belief lacks substantiation. Even "if it were true, it would contribute nothing to our understanding of the books themselves."[316] He also argued that the aspiration of the Zealots gave rise to some of the apocalyptic ideas which served to keep hope alive in dark times of suffering.[317] In this too his arguments are not always convincing, but they seem to have influenced R. T. Herford's thinking on the subject. Herford was firmly convinced that the apocalyptic literature was a Zealot literature. "It shows," he says, "the inspiration, the ideas and religious and ethical conceptions of the Zealot Movement, alike on its good side, for it had a good side, and on its bad side . . . The Apocalyptic literature and the Zealot

[315] See *JE*, II, 658.

[316] On the opinion that much in the Jewish apocalyptic writings comes out of a sectarian movement, by some identified with the Essenes, see G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, v. 2, pp. 280 f.

[317] For an interesting discussion of the Zealots, a patriotic Jewish party, so badly portrayed in the writings of Josephus, see Kaufmann Kohler, "Wer waren die Zeloten oder Kannaim?" in *Festschrift zu Ehren des Dr. A. Harkavy*, St. Petersburg, 1908, pp. 6–18.

movement went hand in hand."[318] The view that the apocalyptic literature is Zealot literature has been convincingly refuted by Zeitlin[319] who maintains that "it is the literature of the apocalyptic Pharisaic sect, from which ultimately Christianity developed."[320] While one readily admits the correctness of Herford's contention[321] that any claim that "the apocalyptic writings were the work of Pharisees is a pure assumption, only to be explained by the idea that every writer who displays a profound veneration for Torah was necessarily a Pharisee," such an admission does not explain the fact that many of those apocalyptic passages, comprising a body of Jewish religious ideas and conceptions, are almost invariably credited in early rabbinical texts to well-known Pharisaic teachers. Almost invariably, too, those passages have their counterparts in now extant apocalyptic writings the authorship of which Herford and others would not attribute to Pharisees. It is known and generally recognized that the Pharisees did not regard the teachings of the Bible alone as sufficient for the presentation of the whole system of Jewish belief and practice. They believed "that law and custom supplementary to the text of Scripture were as genuine an expression of Jewish history as were the norms and practices recorded in the holy classic."[322] They therefore did not hesitate to draw upon traditions which originated and entrenched themselves among the Jews in the course of centuries. Such traditions, no doubt, also included those of an apocalyptic character. That this was the case is

[318] See his *The Pharisees*, p. 188 and his *Judaism in the New Testament Period*, London, 1928, p. 81.

[319] See his "The Pharisees" in *JQR*, 1926, v. 16, pp. 383–394.

[320] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

[321] See his *Pharisaism*, p. 178.

[322] J. Goldin in *The Jews*, ed. by L. Finkelstein, Philadelphia, 1949, p. 131.

evident from the fact that apocalyptic passages in early rabbinical texts are often attributed to men who were, directly or indirectly, linked to the Pharisees.

Types of Judaism

Am ha-Aretz, Essenes, Hasidim, Pharisees and Sadducees are convenient names for types of Judaism which no doubt were present in Palestinian Jewry in the days of the Second Commonwealth. In all likelihood they all had in their ranks men who occupied themselves with apocalyptic thought. They were not united by any common purpose; they were solitary individuals each seeing his visions and presenting them as he saw and thought appropriate to meet the circumstances of the time and the place where he lived. F. Rosenthal sensed this fact long ago.[323] He suggested that these individuals found in apocalyptic ideas confirmation of the teachings and practices of their respective parties. Sometimes certain apocalyptic ideas were acceptable to one group and another time to another group. Some apocalyptic ideas are similar to those which were now and then uttered by well-known representatives of Pharisaism; other ideas frequently correspond to those of the Sadducees. The appearance now and then of an apparent agreement in opinion between apocalyptic writers and one or another of the parties of the day represents a mere coincidence. As such the apocalyptists comprised no party at all. Scattered in the ranks of all parties of their day, they represented merely a trend of thought. Most of them were teachers and thinkers, preachers and writers active in the Judaism of their day. The all adhered to the basic religious teachings and practices of Israel.

Such eminent scholars as Schechter, Ginzberg, Moore[324]

[323] See his *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[324] *Talmud and Apocrypha*, p. 266.

and others have endeavored to create the impression that the apocalyptic teachings were not in the mainstream of Judaism. In so doing they overlooked the fact that similar teachings were already in the Hebrew Bible and that many of them, after being excluded from Hebrew Scripture, found their way into the schools of the rabbis, some of whose teachings were later incorporated in the Talmud and Midrash. Moreover, the theology and the liturgy of Judaism, as has been pointed out above, were hospitable to some of the early, essential apocalyptic teachings. The extant volume of apocalyptic literature, and the fact that Christianity simply took over most of the Jewish apocalyptic works and in turn produced similar works, argue strongly against the idea that the apocalyptics were not in the mainstream. It was only after the destruction of the Temple that the rabbinical masters gained ascendancy. Apocalyptic writings were then gradually neglected with the result that, before long, they were left for the most part outside the normal line of Jewish development, and deprived of their once deep hold on the people. Judaism before the rise of Christianity was a much more complex phenomenon than it became after the destruction of Jerusalem.

This decline in popularity of the apocalyptic writings, however, does not warrant the assumption that while Judaism rejected or ignored them it also rejected the teachings contained in many of them. Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai said that God revealed this world to Abraham, but not the world to come.[325] Burkitt[326] infers that this statement implied the Jewish rejection of an apocalyptic kingdom. Herford[327] assumes that the scholars of those

[325] Gen. R. 44 (on Gen. 15.18) העולם הזה גלה לו אבל העולם הבא לא גלה לו. Rabbi Akiba, on the other hand, believed that God revealed to Abraham this world as well as the one which is to come אחד העוה"ז ואחד העוה"ב גלה לו.

[326] *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

[327] See his *Talmud and Apocrypha*, p. 197.

schools who were among the Pharisaic leaders neither knew nor cared very much about this literature. "They went their own way," he says, "without paying attention to it; and if they knew in a general way of its existence, that was about as much as they knew." Ginzberg asserts that the Jewish schools of Jabneh and Tiberias did not directly oppose and reject these writings but deliberately ignored them. Ginzberg, to lend strength to his assertion, states, furthermore, that "in the entire Rabbinic literature of the first six centuries of the Common Era there is not one quotation from the now extant apocalyptic literature.[328] This *argumentum a silentio* cannot be adduced as convincing proof; it certainly does not seem sufficiently strong to sustain the assertion that the rabbis "deliberately ignored" the apocalyptic writings. Rather it must be remembered that reference to apocalyptic lore and teachings is implied in the passages of an apocalyptic character which do appear quite frequently in early rabbinical literature and which have their counterparts in the now extant apocalyptic writings. Ginzberg's argument could be applied with equal lack of conviction to other writings as well, such as those of Philo, Josephus and their Hellenistic contemporaries, which, like "the now extant apocalyptic literature," are neither quoted nor referred to in the entire rabbinic literature of the period in question. The rabbis simply did not know those writings because they were not available to them in Hebrew or Aramaic, just as many of them did not know the apocalyptic writings which, in their

[328] *JBL*, 1922, v. 41, p. 1. In support of this view G. F. Moore (*Judaism*, v. 1, p. 127) maintains that "not only are the writings themselves ignored in Tannaitic literature but many of the subjects with which they deal are foreign to it." This argument is rather weak, inasmuch as it is almost equally applicable to the Hebrew Scriptures. To be sure not the Scriptures are ignored in tannaitic literature, but some of the subjects which they deal with are neither mentioned nor referred to by the Tannaim.

day, were evidently also no longer extant in Hebrew or Aramaic.[329] Not only do the writings of the early rabbis contain no quotations from nor references to any of the extant apocalyptic books; the Jewish Hellenistic works as well, such as those of Philo[330] and Josephus, are likewise free of references to, or quotations from apocalyptic writings. Few of the rabbis were familiar with Greek, virtually the only language in which apocalyptic or Hellenistic writings were available to them.[331] Nevertheless, the rabbis do not seem to have neglected or ignored apocalyptic teachings altogether. One meets with passages in the Talmud[332] in which are foretold the signs that will herald the coming of the Messiah at the end of the time of exile. It has already been pointed out that they, and others like them, represent apocalyptic passages which in their present form are of a late date but embrace much older elements. In fact, they represent essentially a reshaping of old material. The apocalyptic tradition which they convey can, indeed, be traced to a considerable antiquity. Books containing apocalyptic or secret lore of the "wise", a sort of an esoteric literature, are said to have circulated at a

[329] Louis Finkelstein's suggestion that *Peloni*, "someone" in rabbinical literature (*Midrash Tannaim*, 6.7 and *Tosefta Yebamot*, 3.4), represents a punning allusion to Philo, has thus far found no acceptance (see his "Is Philo mentioned in Rabbinic Literature?" in *JBL*, 1934, v. 53, pp. 142–149.

[330] Incidentally, the study of the life and thought of both Philo and Josephus sheds much light on the apocalyptic tendencies of their day. No Jewish apocalyptic text belonging to their era can be properly understood without application of the results of research in Philo and Josephus.

[331] S. Lieberman's effort (see his *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, New York, 1942 and *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, New York, 1950) to prove that Greek was much more familiar to Palestinians than was formerly thought to have been the case, is not very convincing (cf. G. Yalon's comprehensive review of the former in קרית ספר, Jerusalem, 1943, v. 20, pp. 76–95 and Harry M. Orlinsky, "Studies in Talmudic Philology" in *HUCA*, 1950–51, v. 23, Part 1, pp. 499–514.

[332] See e. g., Sota 9.15; B. Sota 49a f., and cf. Sanh. 97a f.

comparatively early period.[333] There was a continuous apocalyptic tradition, which survived from ancient times through medieval days. Old apocalyptic ideas were now and then given new expression; they were constantly being reshaped and restated, but they were old. How old is not always realized. "A study of the few still existing apocryphal books," says Kohler,[334] "discloses the fact, . . . that the 'mystic lore' occasionally alluded to in Talmudic or Midrashic literature . . . is not only much more systematically presented in these older writings, but gives ample evidence of a continuous cabalistic tradition; inasmuch as the mystic literature of the Gaonic period is only a fragmentary reproduction of the ancient apocalyptic writings, and the saints and sages of the Tannaitic period take in the former the place occupied by the Biblical protoplasts, patriarchs, and scribes in the latter." Incidentally, whenever one meets in apocalyptic writings with a statement or with an idea that is readily recognizable as familiar from some text in rabbinical literature, where it is often recorded in the name of one or another of the famous rabbis, it is not to be assumed that the apocalyptic source is devoid of originality. On the contrary the apocalyptic writers are highly original. They were, after all, ingrained with the deepest of spiritual and mystic sentiments; men whose lives accorded with the high strain of their teachings and whose works constitute a material addition, for all time, to the body of Jewish literature.

Another reason may account for the absence in rabbinical literature of direct references to and quotations from the apocalyptic writings. Having sensed danger to Judaism in the birth and rapid spread of Christianity, the rabbis endeavored to discourage apocalyptic speculation as to

[333] Cf. Dan. 12.9–10; Apocalypse of Ezra 14.45–46.
[334] *JE*, III, 457.

"the end of days" and therefore they laid greater stress on the halakic aspects of Jewish religious life. Thus the leaders of normative Judaism endeavored to overcome what they regarded as a serious threat to the survival of the faith of their fathers. It is not unlikely that for this reason, too, they did not hesitate to remove from the early rabbinic texts, passages they believed detrimental to the teachings of rabbinic Judaism. They retained, however, numerous passages which correspond to like texts in apocalyptic writings, showing that in one form or another these writings were known to them. In so far as early Christianity made the most of the then current apocalyptic lore, the sages preferred to keep aloof from it. Moreover, "since some of the 'outside books' were considered inspired and prophetic by the Judaeo-Christians and the Apocalyptists, the rabbis banned these books and decreed that those who read them would be excluded from sharing a portion in the future world."[335] Nevertheless, apocalyptic teachings and ideas familiar because of such books, found their way into virtually every stratum of medieval rabbinic lore, from which they penetrated the rich liturgy of the Synagogue. This was inevitable. "The apocalyptic literature was venerated"[336] by the Jews. "It is true that the synagogue never recognized these 'outside books' as holy but the Jews read them as ecclesiastical writings."[337]

There is a widespread view, especially among some Jewish scholars, that the Jewish apocryphal and apocalyptic writings represent a type or types of Judaism different from the normative type. G. F. Moore has correctly pointed out that the apocalyptic works do not belong to "the writings which represent the acknowledged

[335] S. Zeitlin in *JQR*, 1950, v. 40, p. 232, but see note 295 above.
[336] *Ibid.*, p. 242.
[337] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

and authoritative teachings"—those books which Judaism always regarded as normative—of school and Synagogue. Yet, the teachings which they transmit comprise an important aspect of Judaism. Products of the Judaism of the period in which they came into being they reveal the substratum of intelligent, loyal, truly religious people. It may be assumed that the hopes and beliefs they express were those of many Jews of different sects within and without the Jewish community. The adherents of Judaism were in those days as in our day subdivided into many groups. Some conceived of Judaism as ethical and intellectual in character; others professed it because of its apocalyptic elements; still others preferred it because of its system of halaka. There is no gainsaying that apocalyptic literature does not represent the Judaism of the centuries in which it assumed definitive form as it presents itself in the tradition which it always regarded as authentic.[338] The representatives of this tradition were the Tannaim, the rabbis of the period from the time of Herod (Hillel and Shammai) to that of Judah ha-Nasi, under whose authority, about 200 CE, the Mishna was put forth in what proved to be its authoritative form. Herford[339] insists that "the apocryphal writings, without exception, are not based upon the conception of Halachah, with all its implications, while Halachah is the key to the whole Pharisaic conception of religion." True as this may appear to be, it can not exclude altogether the role the haggadah played in the spread and development of the teachings of normative Judaism. It is equally true, as Felix Perles[340] has correctly pointed out, that no system can be distilled out of the materials comprising the haggadah. In regards to religion,

[338] G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, v. 1, pp. 126 ff.

[339] See his *Judaism in the New Testament Period*, pp. 123 f.

[340] In his criticism of Bousset's *Religion des Judentums*, etc., Berlin, 1908, pp. 9 ff.

morals, eschatology, etc., rabbinical lore only registers the varying and often contradictory opinions of different rabbis. While in the discussions of these matters there are certain principles and general prescriptions, they are never worked out into a closed system. Yet halakic elements are not altogether absent from the apocryphal and apocalyptic writings.[341] Like the haggadah itself, the books of the apocrypha, including their apocalyptic portions are rich in halakic elements.[342] While the halaka was appropriated exclusively by Judaism, early Christianity drew generously upon the haggadic resources of the Jews which include, properly, the apocryphal and apocalyptic lore.[343] It is, indeed, only through the attraction which the latter possessed for Christian teachers that they have been preserved at all.

Apocalyptic Conceptions in Judaism

In order to understand the apocalyptic writings in their form, material, spirit and purpose, it is essential that an effort be made to explore the apocalyptic elements in the entire field of early Jewish literature, and to determine the place of apocalyptic conceptions in Jewish thought, especially the role they played among the moving forces in early rabbinical Judaism. Any one familiar with the wealth of early rabbinical lore knows that the apocalyptic world of fancy and feeling entered deeply into the minds

[341] See Ralph Marcus, *Law in the Apocrypha*, New York, 1927; Louis Finkelstein, "The Book of Jubilees and the Rabbinic Halaka" in *HTR*, Cambridge, 1923, v. 16, pp. 39–61; Ch. Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha*, Berlin, 1930; Ch. Kaplan, ההלכה בספר היובלות in חורב, New York, 1934, v. 1, pp. 92–99; S. Zeitlin, *The Book of Jubilees, its character and its significance*, Philadelphia, 1939, pp. 1–31.

[342] H. Z. Hirschberg and B. Murmelstein, יחס האגדה להלכה, Wien, 1929.

[343] See N. I. Weinstein, *Zur Genesis der Agada. Beitrag zur Entstehungs-und Entwickelungs-Geschichte des talmudischen Schriftthums*, Göttingen, 1901, v. 2.

and hearts of the early Jewish sages, many of whose teachings are found in the rabbinic literary resources. Some of the "little" apocalypses which are scattered in the Mishna, Midrash and Gemara—no doubt sole surviving portions of complete works now entirely lost—are the remains of older literary documents, the contents of which have left a profound impress upon the religious thought of rabbinical Judaism.

Those who brought about the elimination of the early apocalyptic works from the body of Jewish literature—and the reason for it can no longer be established with any certainty—did not succeed in any attempt, if ever made, to banish well rooted apocalyptic teachings from Jewish lore. "At a very early time the Synagogue disavowed the pseudepigraphic literature, which was the favorite reading matter of the sectaries and the Christians. Nevertheless, the inner relation between them is of the closest kind. The only essential difference is that the midrashic form prevails in the Haggadah and the parenetic or apocalyptic form in the pseudepigrapha."[344] Accordingly it is a matter not of content but of form. The apocalyptic writings wear a biblical aspect; they are prophetic in character. Judaism had declared prophecy at an end; newly written prophetic works could no longer claim an authoritative position; certainly not one that would equal the role of the Hebrew prophets in Judaism. The apocalyptic works were now relegated to the category of the Haggadah. The rabbis, according to Ginzberg[345] "did not fail to see in the wild and vague visions of those dreamers a true menace to the physical and spiritual welfare of Israel." Yet they themselves did not hesitate to incorporate in the rich rabbinic literature so many "wild and vague visions," the like of which can be found only in the apocalyptic writings.

[344] L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, Preface to v. 1, p. IX.
[345] *JBL*, 1922, v. 41, p. 134.

A study of the apocalyptic lore is absolutely indispensable even for an adequate understanding of the history of the period which gave rise to it. The time in which most of the now extant apocalyptic works were written began about a century before the period in which normative Judaism was crystalized, and lasted till near its close. It is generally agreed that the importance of these writings for Christianity is great. But their effect—whatever it may have been—upon the Judaism which survived has not yet been sufficiently appraised. It is a task which must sooner or later be carried out. To some degree it presents a challenge which imaginative and resourceful Jewish scholarship should meet.

It has again and again been shown that the authors of the books of the New Testament had a goodly measure of acquaintance with the apocalyptic writings. It stands to reason that their contemporaries, the rabbis, had a like knowledge of apocalyptic teachings. It is not certain as to whether or not they gained it directly from the texts of the apocalyptic books as these are known today. Perhaps the examples furnished in this study, taken at random from a rich literature, will suffice to show how close some of the teachings of the early rabbis came to those of the apocalyptic writers. Even though the examples drawn from Talmud and Midrash may be multiplied considerably, it cannot now be stated with any certainty that the extant apocalyptic writings were in the hands of the early rabbis. Yet on the ground of religious belief and locality alone it is extremely improbable that they were not acquainted with the apocalyptic teachings current in their day. The rabbis seem to have been influenced by them and in some degree to have influenced them. To sustain such a conclusion there are items of evidence the cumulative force of which is strong. If the rabbis had the texts, they certainly used them advantageously. Indeed, they used them in a

manner in which they used hardly any other books except those which comprise the collection of Hebrew Scripture. Gradually this use declined, for reasons which are no longer known, and for the most part actual resort to these books was virtually abandoned. The apocalyptic writings evidently did not contain that enduring spiritual vitality which the Hebrew Scriptures possess.

Assuming that the early rabbis possessed and used them, the question arises whether or not they regarded them as on a level equal with the Jewish authoritative writings of their day. If not, why not? These are points which can hardly be settled now. What their opinion of such literature was, if ever decisively expressed, lies now in great obscurity. Bernard J. Bamberger is perhaps right in asserting that "with few exceptions, the parallels between rabbinic literature and Hellenistic, apocryphal or Christian writings of an earlier date are to be explained as due to the use of common oral sources . . . It is clear that a very considerable part of the material preserved in the Talmudic-Midrashic sources is much older than it appears at first sight."[346] That, in all likelihood this is actually the case was shown long ago by Ginzberg[347] in connection with the many passages in Pesikta Rabbati[348] which correspond almost literally to passages in the Apocalypse of Baruch. He is of the opinion that this striking phenomenon "is to be explained on the ground that the old Midrash on which the Pesikta drew in describing the destruction of the Temple was derived from a time when the Apocalypse was still read by the Jews."

[346] *JBL*, 1949, v. 68, pp. 122 f.

[347] *JE*, II, 555.

[348] A work of the second half of the ninth century see Zunz-Albeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–121 and H. L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, Philadelphia, 1931, p. 213.

It seems that what is now extant of early apocalyptic lore and literature represents but little of what was probably a large body of apocalyptic ideas and teachings current both orally and in writing. There is no question that the roots of that literature go back to a very early date in Jewish history, much earlier than it is now possible to fix with any accuracy. It is therefore questionable whether that literature can be easily disavowed in Judaism by declaring, with neither convincing argument nor supporting evidence, that it was deliberately excluded from the body of Hebrew Scripture and that Judaism rejected or ignored it. It seems that after the Mishna was codified Judaism sidetracked its entire early literature not extant in Hebrew or Aramaic. The apocalyptic writings forming part and parcel of that literature along with the entire body of Jewish Hellenistic writings,[349] ceased to play a role commensurate with their importance in the affairs of Judaism. Yet many of the ideas they transmitted somehow did find their way into the realms of Jewish religious belief and experience. It can hardly be gainsaid that apocalyptic lore did exercise an influence, though a somewhat uncertain one, upon Judaism, the full measure of its effect is still to be evaluated.

While apocalyptic works enjoyed a reasonable popularity it cannot be assumed that they were at any time considered as of canonical value. Declared to be "the true child of

[349] The influence of Hellenism upon Judaism was so strong as to necessitate the taking of steps which would assure the integrity of Judaism from rapid disintegration. Synagogue, Torah, Scribe, apocalyptic, resurrection, supernaturalism suggested ways in which Judaism transformed itself in order to resist the encroachment of Hellenism. The historian of Christian origins and of early rabbinic lore must trace the gradual rise, through the influence of Hellenism and through opposition to it, of this other-worldly type of Judaism of which the apocalyptic writings are the first and clearest expression.

prophecy,"[350] the Scripture style and form so characteristic of the apocalyptic books betray the very great debt they thus owe the parent prototype. The popularity of certain apocalyptic books gave them a sanctity which they would not otherwise have had; others gained an equal position because of their liturgical suitability.[351] Indeed, they were very far from being ordinary literature; they exercised a powerful influence upon Jews and their impact upon early Christian writings is plainly traceable. "It may be inferred from their number and volume that they found eager acceptance, particularly in times of tribulation which inspired new ones and caused old ones to be revamped . . ."[352] The calamities of their time and the non-advent of the promised golden age to which the Jews looked forward agitated the apocalyptic writers. They endeavored to recapture, in some way, the secret of the prophetic faith which foresaw that future. "They succeeded in producing the forward gaze, and thought that with it they had recovered the ancient faith."[353] Apocalyptic writings became as much a recognized literary form in the centuries between 200 BCE and 100 CE, as the historical novel is today. Their authors were pious and patriotic men, whose one desire was that the inspiring vision that had come to them might be so conveyed to others as to be heeded. This does not imply that their writings represent a theological literature exclusively; they embody also much wisdom and contain a vast amount of folklore. They are certainly interesting and important as an element in the history of the time to which they belong, and cast considerable light on the character of the Judaism of their day.

[350] Charles, Preface to his edition of Enoch, Oxford, 1912, p. VI.

[351] Israel Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, Cambridge, 1917, v. 1, p. 149.

[352] Moore, *Judaism*, v. 1, p. 127.

[353] Herford, *Talmud and Apocrypha*, p. 267.

Conclusion

The neglect into which the early apocalyptic writings have fallen in Judaism is undeserved. It certainly is regrettable. This neglect may be due not merely to dogmatic considerations but perhaps also to a widely spread opinion of long standing that they are virtually all obscure and generally cannot be understood. In certain quarters it is even asserted that they probably were not meant to be understood. Any effort, therefore, to make intelligible the general character and contents of the apocalyptic writings may, at times, appear futile. Moreover, it is often said that to indulge in such an effort is far from being rewarding and is apt to confuse the mind. No wonder the rabbis declared, "He who speculates on four things, what is above, beneath, before, behind, for that man it would be better if he had not come into the world."[354] Nevertheless, the study of the apocalyptic writings—though of relatively recent date—has proved rewarding. The renewed study of the problems they present is, in no small degree, due to the accidental recoveries of a lost section of the Apocalypse of [II (IV)] Ezra, of parts of the Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus and of other like fragments, which have given a fresh impetus to the study of the literature of the apocrypha. But for a proper understanding of their contents and character one must gain a familiarity with everything one is able to find out about them. One must acquire a sympathetic understanding of them and through such understanding enable oneself to appreciate the essential qualities inherent in them, even those beneath the absurdities, excesses and extravagances by which alone they have often been judged. One must also grasp the significance and implications of some of the fantastic and melodramatic parts they contain

[354] Hag. 2.1.

in order to recapture in some measure the temper of the time and nature of the locale in which their writers flourished. To achieve this end, a knowledge of the history of the period, as well as of the literature and lore it produced is essential.

Finally, one must bear in mind the fact that the apocalyptic writings comprise a literature which was produced in a day of assimilation of truths already proclaimed, rather than of a time in which new verities were set forth or in which doctrines were evolved from prophetical premises. In a way entirely their own the Jewish apocalyptic writers borrowed from the past in such a manner as to transmute traditionally received data into new conceptions. While transmitting great religious teachings from the past, the apocalyptic books themselves are not great. They are certainly not as great as the books of the Hebrew Bible. Indeed, F. C. Burkitt[355] is right in maintaining that "they are not great in themselves." "They are not worth much as literature," he says, "or as contributions to thought. They throw no light directly on the problems of our time . . . No, the value of the Apocalypses is of quite a different order. They are the most characteristic survivals of what I will venture to call, with all its narrowness and its incoherence, the heroic age of Jewish History, the age when the nation attempted to realize in action the part of the peculiar people of God."

What the apocalyptic writers endeavored to do was to give literary expression to the feelings and sentiments of their day. God was to them a highly personalized individual whose rule over the universe was immediate and discretionary. At that time men were confused by what they heard and read, and misled by the urge of trying to understand the shape of things to come. They looked upon

[355] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

historical events as fulfilment and confirmation of some of the teachings of the prophets. The future was beyond their knowledge. The decisive factor in it was the power of God. The apocalyptic characterization of it was the one most adequate to its outcome. The apocalyptic writers did not see it only in such terms: they could announce the imminent end of the world, but live and teach as if it were to go on. When they talked of the phenomena of the end-time and of the coming of the kingdom of God, they merely envisaged an impending divine intervention in the world of dramatic judgment. They were "concerned with the relation between events in heaven and the kingdoms and empires of the world, and therefore they spoke of angels, demons, and the supermundane representatives of men and nations who operated partly in accordance with the will of God, partly in opposition to it and so produced that strange mixture of motives and curious combinations of creation and destruction which makes up the history of the world."[356] Their experience with the oppressor tended to make moralists of all of them, turning them from fervent contemplation of plans and objectives to an unhappy inquiry into the hearts of men, into the ways of life that can cause the fall of nations. This growing moral questioning turned inevitably upon the kind of world that would be left, or that would come into being when the events foretold in prophecy and apocalyptic would take place. The ethical genius of the Jews was not exhausted by the prophets, as is so often erroneously asserted; it is mirrored in their apocalyptic writings and in works of the rabbis as well. The apocalyptic writers like the rabbis of a later day were masters of the Hebrew Scripture; their knowledge of it is apparent on every page of their writings

[356] F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, London, 1920, v. 1, p. 131.

as it is in the rabbinic texts. Scriptural texts and ideas constituted the subjects of discussions in the schools and of sermons in the Synagogues. Such use as they made of Scripture eventually contributed to the calling forth of new writings and formed alike a model and a productive mine of allusions, extracts and citations. Some ancient customs and traditions familiar in Judaism have been observed and noted in them.[357] They looked forward to the coming of a better world and to a better day than those in which they themselves lived. It comprised their primary hope. One senses the intensity of that hope in their writings and its universality and ultimateness in realizing the role it played in the lives of men under oppression.

By drawing upon the vast resources of rabbinic lore, modern Jewish scholars have been able to elucidate obscure texts and to clarify many doubtful points in the apocalyptic writings. Moreover the researches of Adolph Jellinek and Manuel Joel, Ferdinand Rosenthal, Kaufmann Kohler, and especially in recent years the studies of Louis Ginzberg and Solomon Zeitlin, have demonstrated that the application of the historical method and the techniques of textual criticism—so successfully employed in the modern pursuit of Bible study—to the investigation of apocalyptic writings, lead to satisfactory results, and at the same time, even to convincing conclusions. They have shown that it is virtually impossible to understand the apocalyptic writings without a knowledge of the political and religious situations of the time as well as of the various inner communal divisions and conflicts that called them forth. They have also made it possible to acquire a better knowledge of the relationship of the apocalyptic writings to the vast body of early Jewish

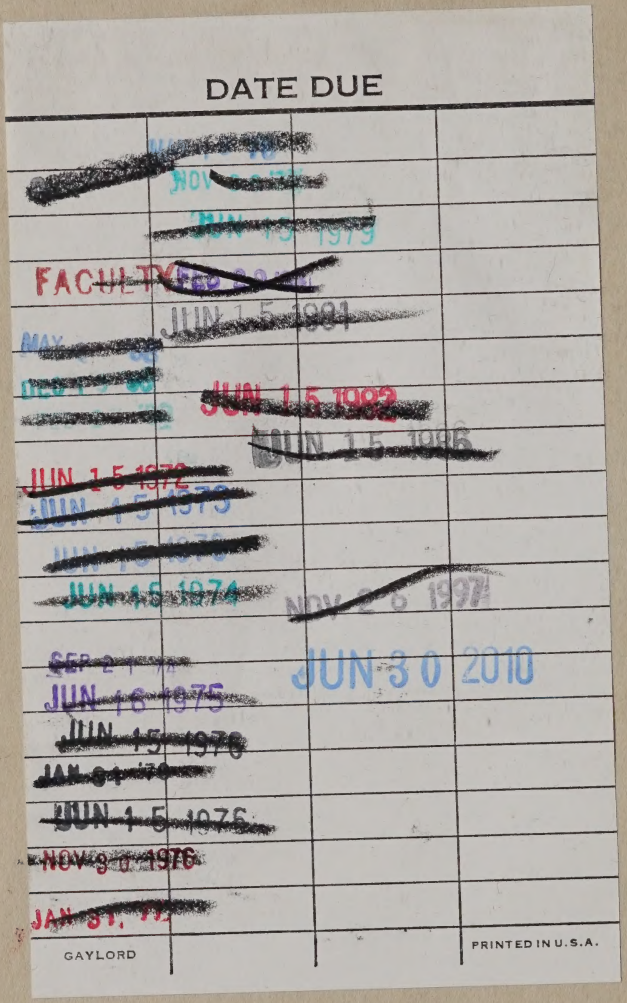
[357] On the exploitation of some passages derived from the apocryphal and especially apocalyptic writings in early rabbinic texts, see Isaac Heinemann, דרכי האגדה, Jerusalem, 1950, pp. 165 ff.

literature, Palestinian and Hellenistic. Further study of these writings in their relation to the literature of the rabbis will eventually lead to a clear indication of how wide is their divergence from them and how close is their dependence on them. At least some of the Jewish apocalyptic mysteries, which often perplexed the student, may be solved by scrutinizing contemporary events and conditions, and by study of books and traditions of the past, rather than by seeking to forecast and still probe into an unknown future. The books in which those mysteries are described are works of imagination, cleverly put together, but containing not a few historical inaccuracies; the great "facts" they present are pure fancies; their mighty miracles mere feats of imagination. The play of Jewish folk fancy in these writings is remarkable. The cosmological flights of the Jewish imagination as shown in the elaborate embroideries of biblical legends are, indeed, often too daring while human relations are treated with tenderness. They deserve, however, greater consideration than they have hitherto received in Jewish literature.

The apocalyptic writings are a strange and magnificent literature. They serve as a testament to once widely prevalent ideas about God and man, the universe and the various forces operating in it; they also testify to the sovereignty of imagination and to the recognition of a like prevalent claim that this sovereign faculty is helpless unless it works with and through the substance of reality. What gives apocalyptic literature its particular quality is that in it imagination is exercised upon material so exotic that it seems to partake of fantasy and legend. In existence now longer than two millennia and available in many languages, its scope is enormous and takes the reader to the remote outposts of the divine empire and transports him to the farthest reaches of the spirit.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ʻAb. Zarah	ʻAbodah Zarah
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
B. B.	Baba Batra
BCE	Before common era
Ber.	Berakot
CE	Common era
ʻEduy.	ʻEduyot
ʻEr.	ʻErubin
Hag.	Hagigah
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JE	The Jewish Encyclopedia
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	Journal of Religion
JRLB	John Rylands Library Bulletin
Ket.	Ketubot
Kid., Kidd.	Kiddushin
Meg.	Megillah
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
Mid., Midr.	Midrash
Midr. Teh. Midr. Tehil.	Midrash Tehillim
M. K.	Moʻed Katan
MWJ	Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums
Ned.	Nedarim
Nid.	Niddah
Pes.	Pesaḥim
Pesik. R.	Pesikta Rabbati
R.	Rab *or* Rabbi *or* Rabbah
REJ	Revue des Etudes Juives
R. H.	Rosh Hashanah
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Shab., Shabb.	Shabbat
Shek.	Shekalim
Suk.	Sukkah
Taʻan.	Taʻanit
Tanh.	Tanḥuma
Targ. Yer.	Targum Yerushalmi
Tos.	Tosefta
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Yad.	Yadayim
Yeb.	Yebamot
Yer.	Yerushalmi
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie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